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SHABBAT BEGINS ENDS
Jerusalem 5:05 p.m. 6:17 p.m.
Tel Aviv 5:23 p.m. 6:19 p.m.
Haifa 5:16 p.m. 6:18 p.m.

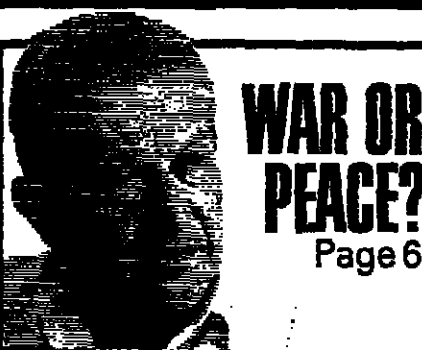
THE JERUSALEM POST

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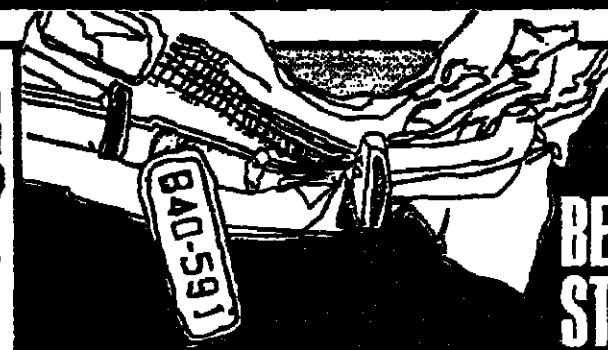
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HERUT'S YOUNG STARS
Page 5



WAR OR PEACE?
Page 6



PAIN BEHIND THE STATISTICS
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EXODUS
Magazine
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Iraq repels Iranian attack

MANAMA, Bahrain (AP). — Iraq said its forces repulsed an Iranian assault backed by tanks and artillery in an 18-hour battle yesterday as Iran threatened to shell Iraqi cities in reprisal for new Iraqi air strikes on tankers, oil centres and factories.

Iraq's official news agency, monitored in Cyprus, said that the brigade-sized assault began just before midnight Wednesday in the central sector of the Gulf war front and that the fighting lasted until 6 p.m.

The agency, quoting a military communique, said "the bulk of the

Iranian force was destroyed," beaten back by intense artillery and tank fire by Iraq's 2nd Army Corps and strafing runs by helicopter gunships.

Iraq's official Islamic Republic News Agency (Irna), also monitored in Nicosia, made no mention of an assault. But it reported heavy artillery exchanges in several sectors on Wednesday.

Iraq said its Air Force flew 96 combat missions yesterday against "economic installations" and military positions, while helicopter gunships mounted another 147 sorties,

the highest gunship total in several weeks.

Iraq claimed an Iraqi MiG-23 was shot down in Central Iran yesterday. But Iraq claimed all its jets returned safely.

Iraq said retaliatory bombardments were imminent and, as it often does, urged Iraqi citizens to evacuate areas around potential targets.

There was no independent confirmation of the reported ground fighting. Observers are rarely allowed into the war zone by either side.

Rabin on attack:

Syrians weren't directly involved

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Defence Minister Rabin told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that there were no signs of direct Syrian involvement in Tuesday night's battle on the slopes of Mount Hermon in the security zone.

In the attack on 12 Givati brigade soldiers, two officers and a machine gunner were killed, four infantrymen were wounded and the remaining five soldiers were under intermittent enemy fire for two-and-a-half hours until reinforcements were flown in by helicopter.

Suspicion that the Syrians were involved in the clash arose after the attackers identified themselves as members of the National Lebanese Resistance Front which comprises the Ba'ath, the Syrian Nationalist Party and the Communists. Reports from Lebanon said the Marxist Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine was also involved.

Meanwhile, the IDF was continuing to investigate the circumstances of Tuesday night's clash. Apparently, the Givati unit was ambushed by a 15-man enemy force that had not expected to find them. Among the wounded, two soldiers suffered superficial wounds and were expected to be released today or tomorrow, one broke a bone and a fourth was shot in the knee. The latter two will require surgery.

As the fighting continued among the boulders two kilometres north of Shab'a high in Mount Hermon, the

(Continued on Page 19)

Superpowers plan nuclear test ban

WASHINGTON (AFP). — The U.S. and the Soviet Union have agreed to begin negotiations before December 1 aimed at a "complete" halt to nuclear testing worldwide, it was announced here yesterday.

State Department spokesman Charles Redman and Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov made a joint announcement of the accord as Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze continued their talks aimed at reaching agreement on a medium-range missiles agreement.

Redman said "these will be the first full-scale negotiations of nuclear testing since 1980."

The agreement also called for the two sides to conduct joint verification experiments at each other's nuclear test sites.

The joint statement, approved by Shultz and Shevardnadze, said: "The U.S. and Soviet sides have agreed to begin before December 1 full-scale, stage by stage negotiations which will be conducted in a single forum."

"In these negotiations the sides, as the first step, will agree upon effective verification measures which will make it possible to ratify the U.S.-USSR Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974 and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty of 1976, and proceed to negotiating further intermediate limitations on nuclear testing,

leading to the ultimate objective of the complete cessation of nuclear testing as part of an effective disarmament process.

"This process among other things would pursue as the first priority the goal of the reduction of nuclear weapons and ultimately their elimination. For the purpose of the elaboration of improved verification measures for the U.S.-USSR treaties of 1974 and 1976 the sides intend to design and conduct joint verification experiments at each other's test sites."

"These verification measures will to the extent appropriate be used in further nuclear test limitation agreements which may subsequently be reached."

'Syria pulling strings on puppets'

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter

ROSH HANIKRA. — Syria is continuing its policy of attacking Israel through terrorist proxies in order to bolster its claims to be at the forefront of the battle against Israel, according to Middle East expert Yossi Olmert.

He said that Tuesday night's clash in the foothills of Mount Hermon between terrorists and an IDF patrol — in which three Israeli soldiers were killed and four wounded — was a typical example of this policy in action.

Meanwhile, said Olmert, head of the Syria and Lebanon desk at the Dayan Centre of Tel Aviv University, there were signs of a rapprochement between Syria and Iran over the status and role of the Iranian-backed Hizbullah Shi'ite organization in Lebanon.

"Syria is by no means averse to the Hizbullah's actions against Israel and the security zone, provided there is prior consultation," said Olmert.

"There are indications that Iran is trying to placate the Syrians. In return the Syrians appear to be easing the pressure on the Hizbullah in South Beirut, and possibly giving them a freer hand in South Lebanon, although that is not quite so clear."

Olmert stressed that in the long-term there was a likelihood of an upsurge in terrorist activity against Israel and the security zone.

"With the run-up to the Lebanese presidential elections, scheduled for next year, we can expect to see a more dynamic and problematic situation. This is something we are going to have to watch very carefully," he added.

Olmert cited two other recent cases of Syria attacking Israel by proxy.

"There was an attempt, back at the beginning of July, by two frogmen to penetrate Israeli defences and carry out atrocities," he said.

The attempt was foiled by South Lebanese Army troops who shot and killed the terrorists when they mistakenly came ashore at a beach in South Lebanon, north of Nakura.

Olmert noted that the frogmen had been members of the pro-Syrian Sa'ika organization.

More recently, an Egyptian terrorist, on a suicide mission, gave himself up to SLA troops on the borders of the security zone in South Lebanon.

It transpired, said Olmert, that the

(Continued on Back Page)

Yossi Beilin meets today with Soviet mission chief

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Foreign Ministry political director-general Yossi Beilin will meet today with the head of the Soviet consular mission in Israel, Yevgeny Antipov, in the first such meeting between the visiting officials and an Israeli political official.

The Soviets requested the meeting a few days ago, taking the Foreign Ministry by surprise. Foreign Ministry officials declined to speculate what was behind the Soviet request, but noted that Antipov only yesterday returned from the Soviet Union.

Observers suggested that Antipov may have been sent back from Moscow with a political message for the Israeli leadership, or alternatively, that he may be coming to the Foreign Ministry to formally announce his mission's imminent termination.

The Soviet mission arrived here two months ago with 90-day visas to perform consular tasks and last week its caretaker head, Genarech Pekhin, let Foreign Ministry officials understand that the mission would be returning to the Soviet Union well before its 90 days were up.

Defiant Kollek greets Omsk dance troupe

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek last night welcomed the visit of the Russian Omsk dance troupe to the city as "a good sign and perhaps a good sign that Jews will come from Russia too."

The troupe delighted a packed house at Binyanei Ha'Atza with spirited renditions of Russian folk songs and dances and a novel interpretation of *Havenu Shalom Aleichem*.

Kollek greeted the artists backstage before the show, having resisted, according to his aides, intense pressure by anti-Soviet activist groups to boycott the performance.

Prime Minister Shamir and Vice Premier Peres informed the impresario at the last moment that they were "too busy" to attend the backstage reception. Nor did they attend the show.

Outside, the World Union of Jewish Students and the Soviet Jewry Information Centre managed to muster only a few dozen demonstrators before the performance began. Former Prisoner of Zion Yuli Edelstein told ticket-holders that by entering the building they were making a statement that they no longer identified with the aspirations of Soviet Jewry.

By 9 p.m. the demonstrators had drifted away.

Inside the hall Soviet immigrants seemed to form a sizeable part of the audience and plainly enjoyed the show.

500 Lebanese fall ill after wedding feast

Jerusalem Post Staff

More than 500 Lebanese, including about 50 militiamen, were rushed to hospital and treated for food poisoning after a wedding feast in South Lebanon, medical workers said yesterday from the village of Rashaya in South Lebanon.

They said many of the civilians and also fighters of the South Lebanon Army were rushed to hospitals after falling ill following the feast. It is believed that the main meat course served at the meal was the cause of the mass poisoning.

Arson suspected in kibbutz

UPPER GALILEE (Itim). — Arson is suspected as the cause of a gigantic fire which raged yesterday afternoon in the fields of kibbutz Farod which is situated on the cross-Galilee road south of Safed.

Another major fire broke out yesterday evening in the fields and forests around kibbutz Yiftah in the Natfali mountain range west of Kiryat Shmona. Several thousand trees were destroyed in the fire.

AJC to take sides on peace parley

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The American Jewish Congress will soon issue a statement supporting a compromise solution for the occupied territories and backing the idea of an international peace conference to further the peace process with the Arab states, according to AJC sources.

This position breaks with the tradition that American Jewish organizations should maintain a neutral stance on controversial internal Israeli political issues.

The sources said that the congress decided to take a position on these issues because of the high stakes that world Jewry has in the future of a "democratic, Jewish" Israel, and because of the political deadlock between the two major parties that has paralyzed the peace process.

The statement holds that the continuation of the status quo in the territories is harmful to Israel and untenable from a political and humanitarian standpoint. It says that

an insistence on maintaining the status quo would force Israel to adopt an increasingly repressive policy towards the Arabs, while annexing the territories and granting citizenship to the Arab population would lead to a binational state.

The congress rejects both of these alternatives, as it does the proposal for a "transfer" of the Arab population in the territories to Arab states.

While not explicitly recommending specific alternative courses of action, the statement leans strongly to the views that a territorial or functional compromise in the territories would be best for Israel, and that an international peace conference should be explored as the most promising path to peace.

Congress leaders will meet today with Prime Minister Shamir, Shamir and other Israeli leaders are known to be concerned about the implications of a major American Jewish organization openly identifying with views espoused by the Labour Party.

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CHICAGO	18	14	27	Clear
COPENHAGEN	9	10	14	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	14	16	19	Cloudy
GENEVA	14	16	22	Cloudy
HONG KONG	25	27	31	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	28	18	34	Cloudy
JORDANESBURG	9	10	14	Cloudy
LONDON	16	16	21	Cloudy
MADRID	28	18	34	Cloudy
MONTREAL	14	16	22	Cloudy
NEW YORK	18	14	25	Cloudy
PARIS	14	16	22	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	18	14	25	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	17	12	28	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	11	12	13	Cloudy
TOKYO	28	26	31	Cloudy
TORONTO	9	10	14	Cloudy
VIENNA	14	16	22	Cloudy
ZURICH	14	17	24	Cloudy

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THE WEATHER

Forecast Pleasant
Stabbar: Slight rise in temperatures

	Yesterday	Today's	Max
Jerusalem	36	18-28	29
Golan	32	17-32	33
Nablus	25	21-30	30
Safed	24	22-32	32
Haifa Port	25	23-36	37
Tiberias	39	23-36	37
Nazareth	49	23-32	33
Afula	51	20-31	31
Shomron	70	23-30	30
Be'er Sheva	61	21-31	32
Jericho	38	21-35	36
Gaza	38	22-39	36
Beersheba	40	21-33	34
Eilat	20	24-38	39

Lebanese hijacker captured by U.S.

By DAVID MAKOVSKY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese announced last night that the FBI has staged an overseas capture of a Lebanese terrorist, who hijacked a Jordanian airliner in 1985 with U.S. nationals on board.

The capture, occurring this past Sunday in unspecified Mediterranean waters, marked the first time that U.S. law officials have apprehended a suspected terrorist abroad.

New laws, enacted by Congress in 1984 and 1986 include hostage-taking provisions that permit "long arm jurisdiction" over offences committed outside the U.S., where U.S. nationals are among those taken hostage.

On June 11, 1985 Fawaz Younis and other terrorists hijacked a Royal Jordanian airliner at Beirut International airport carrying 74 people, including four U.S. citizens. The hijackers demanded the expulsion of Palestinians living in refugee camps in Southern Beirut. After a 13-hour ordeal the hijackers exploded the aircraft.

Happy News Here!

The New Year starts next Wednesday in a big way: The Jerusalem Post that day will include all the weekend features, the Magazine and Entertainment sections, Metro or In Jerusalem (where applicable), plus a special Rosh Hashana Supplement that will keep you reading all through the holidays. Don't miss it — Wednesday, Sept. 23, the Rosh Hashana edition of THE JERUSALEM POST
Order your copy today.

Rafaela and Ron Sarel
are happy to announce the birth of a Son
brother to Nataly and grandson to Helga and Johannes Prommer
Judith and Zvi Sarel
Tel Aviv, Assuta Hospital, September 14, 1987

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS



Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Romanian President Ceausescu in his office yesterday. Shamir reiterated that in concert with Romanian President Ceausescu he would continue to explore various avenues towards Middle East peace. The two men also discussed ways of expanding bilateral Israeli-Romanian trade. (M. Elon/GPO)

High-level talks today on Sabbath films in Jerusalem

By ANDY COURT and HERB KEINON
The question whether movies will be shown on Shabbat in Jerusalem is to be discussed at the highest level of national politics when Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Mayor Yehoram Hammer meet in the Prime Minister's Office this afternoon.

It will be the first time the two coalition partners have a meeting specifically on this subject. Until now, the Likud and Labour have both spoken of the importance of preserving the status quo. Shamir has said repeatedly that he's against showing any movies on Shabbat.

Peres's position has been less explicit; but he did tell members of the Labour Party's Young Guard last week that there was no need for the party to alienate its religious members on this issue.

Hammer, who initiated the meeting, wants to try to build a "strong national consensus" for preserving the status quo as a first step towards reexamining secular-religious relations in the capital and throughout the country, according to Uri Minzer, his spokesman.

While Hammer does not believe that the status quo is "holy," he believes that the first step must be to return to the situation that existed before the "cinema wars" flared up. That is the only way the government can reduce the tensions that have

Husseini testifies as another activist held

By JOEL GREENBERG and ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporters
Security forces yesterday arrested Isiah Budeiri, the deputy director of the Arab Studies Society in East Jerusalem, less than a week after Faisal Husseini, the research centre's director, was placed in administrative detention.

Budeiri was charged with organizing demonstrations and strikes in connection with yesterday's anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. His arrest was part of a broader roundup of activists by security forces, in an effort to prevent unrest.

Husseini, 47, a leading nationalist activist, testified yesterday behind closed doors at the Jerusalem District Court, which heard a request for confirmation of his six month detention order, issued Saturday. A decision will be given in nine days.

Security forces consider Husseini to be a top PLO activist in the territories, and the man responsible for numerous demonstrations and strikes there.

Alignment MK Aharon Harel

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Threat to ties with U.S. Congress prompted new sanctions against SA

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent and agencies
Dr. Yossi Beilin, the political director-general of the Foreign Ministry, who was the official who drafted the new package of sanctions against South Africa, said yesterday that Israel had decided to reduce its ties to avoid endangering relations with the U.S. Congress.

The Inner Cabinet agreed on Wednesday on 10 measures limiting economic, cultural, scientific and sport links along with official visits. A key point was a pledge not to serve as middle-man for sanctions-busting by third countries.

"I don't believe someone can say relations with South Africa are vital, especially if you compare them with the danger we could have brought upon ourselves, of a problem with the American Congress over those ties," he said.

Israel was concerned that the Congress would decide to reduce its \$3 billion dollars in annual aid next month, when it takes up consideration of the list of countries that have failed to comply with a 1977 UN embargo on Pretoria. Israel is the single biggest recipient of U.S. aid.

Official sources said the economic sanctions would bar private investments and oil sales and third-party sales to South Africa through Israel while freezing South African iron and steel exports to Israel.

In an unusual attack on a cabinet decision by a senior civil servant, but reflecting the opposition of his minister Ariel Sharon, to the sanctions, the director-general of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, Yoram Belizovsky, said yesterday that the sanctions "could cause Israel damage". He told Kol Yisrael radio that South Africa was an important market for Israeli products. He noted that last year, Israel had exported \$64 million of non-military goods to South Africa and that the figure for 1987 was expected to be higher. South Africa last year exported some \$200 million worth of goods to Israel, including two million tons of coal, which accounted for close to 70 per cent of Israel's coal consumption.

Wednesday's decision omitted coal from the list of sanctions. Israeli officials said yesterday that Israel intended to diversify the sources of her coal imports and Energy Minister Moshe Shohat was expected to fly to Bogota next month to conclude an agreement with the Colombian government on importing two million tons of coal over four years.

Africa are informed, his aides said. Officials said the measures, modelled on sanctions imposed by the European Community (EC), were milder than the actions of the U.S. or the Scandinavian countries and

from South Africa. The statement noted that Israel had been subjected to significant pressures from the U.S. and it added that Israel had to protect its own interests.

Leading Jewish parliamentarian Harry Schwarz of the Liberal Progressive Federal Party expressed disappointment at Israel's decision, saying sanctions were counter-productive to the process of peaceful change in South Africa.

"Israel itself knows what sanctions are all about because it too is subject to trade boycotts," Schwarz said.

A source in the South African Jewish community told The Jerusalem Post yesterday that the sanctions "couldn't have come at a worse time for the Jewish community." He was referring to the "recent spate of anti-Semitic pro-outrages in South Africa, following the death in a Berlin prison of old-time Nazi Rudolf Hess. This brought all the neo-Nazis here out of the woodwork," the source said.

The deputy-director general of the South African Foreign Ministry yesterday told the Israeli Ambassador, David Ariel, "You have knuckled under too readily to American pressure."

East Jerusalem newspapers delayed

Quiet on massacre anniversary

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The fifth anniversary of the massacre at Beirut's Sabra and Shatila refugee camps passed relatively quietly yesterday in the territories, with scattered incidents and commercial strikes reported in several locations.

Security forces carried out further preemptive detentions of activists in an effort to prevent unrest, and delayed the distribution of East Jerusalem newspapers on the grounds that they had to be checked for censorship violations. The papers carried illustrated feature articles and editorials on the massacre.

Two men from Nablus were ordered held — one for three days, on suspicion of planning to organize disturbances, and the second for six months' administrative detention, on suspicion of being a Fatah activist and being involved in disturbances. A third man, from Azzoun village, was ordered held for six months in administrative detention, also on suspicion of organizing disturbances. Twelve Palestinians were arrested earlier this week.

Security sources attributed yesterday's relative calm to "skilled deployment" of IDF troops, who the sources said acted quickly and with restraint to defuse confrontations.

No incidents were reported in East Jerusalem, where police barred a planned march by the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist, a Jewish-Arab group opposed to Israeli security policies in the territories. The High Court of Justice yesterday upheld the ban, saying that evidence submitted by the security services

showed that the march had been organized by the PLO.

The most serious clash occurred at the Islamic University in Hebron, where troops fired in the air and used tear gas to break up a demonstration in which youths, their faces covered with keffiyehs, hurled rocks at army vehicles and raised Palestinian flags. IDF troops set up roadblocks near the campus.

At Bir Zeit University, students demonstrated inside the campus without incident, military sources said.

A near-total commercial strike was in force in Ramallah and El-Bireh, and in the cashah in Nablus. Palestinian sources reported a similar strike in Gaza city, where they said troops used loudspeakers to ask locals to open their shops.

The Balata refugee camp in Nablus remained under a curfew imposed Wednesday to prevent protests against the killing of a 12-year-old boy in the camp during a wave of demonstrations on Tuesday. The curfew was lifted Wednesday night for several hours. In Nablus, three youths were arrested after they entered a girls' school and urged pupils to demonstrate.

Protesters erected barricades on roads and burned tyres in Ramallah, at Beit Ula north of Hebron, at the Jelazoun and Kalandia refugee camps, and at Anatot north of Jerusalem. Security forces used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators at Kalandia, and police broke up the protest at Anatot.

Palestinian sources said schoolchildren demonstrated in Gaza, and

protesters raised Palestinian flags and clashed with troops at Rafah and the Jebel refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. The reports could not be confirmed by the IDF.

Jonathan Karp adds from Tel Aviv:

Under placards bearing the slogans "Enough victims! Enough occupation! Israeli-Palestinian peace now!" about 50 people last night marked the fifth anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres by gathering in Kikar Ma'achal Yisrael, the site of a massive anti-war rally in 1982. Sculptor Yigal Tumarkin said that the turnout was a disappointment.

Tumarkin's sculpture, "Ari's Miracle," served as the focus of the ceremony. It consisted of a roll of barbed wire leaning against a wheelchair. At its base, there was a poster of Ariel Sharon on which one word was written: "Shame." Sandbags on the seat propped up a blood-stained broom with two other posters of Sharon attached. One side read: "Butcher of Lebanon, Prince of Jordan, King of Jerusalem." On the other side: "But Arik was an honorable man."

Ya'acov Gutterman, whose son Raz was killed in the conquest of the Beaufort Castle in the first few days of the war, called for an end to the Lebanon War, and the complete pullout of Israeli soldiers. The event was organized by the Committee to Mark the 20 Years of Occupation, an action group that was established last June.

Israel honoured at Salonika Fair

ATHENS (ITA). — "The Day of Israel" was celebrated at the Salonika International Fair on Wednesday. It was the first time Israel had officially participated in the fair since 1978.

Speaking at a press conference the Israeli diplomatic representative in Greece, Ambassador Moshe Gilboa, said that Israel's participation was due to the cooperation developed between Greece and Israel during the last two years.

Gilboa also stressed the important role Jews played in Salonika.

Turning to bilateral trade, he noted that Greek exports to Israel in 1986 stood at \$28 million, while Israeli exports to Greece stood at \$44m.

A tourism agreement signed between the two countries last year had resulted in an increased number of visitors from both countries.

Asked why the diplomatic representation was at such a low level, Gilboa said that the heads of both missions are full ambassadors. Gilboa put the blame for the situation indirectly on the Greek government.

PLO reopens Cairo office

Egypt has permitted the PLO to reopen its offices in Cairo which were closed last year. This was reported last night by Kol Yisrael's radio monitor Mickey Gurdus, quoting a Kuwaiti newspaper report.

There was no confirmation of the report from any other sources. The Kuwaiti paper said that the opening of the offices had been carried out with no fanfare or ceremony.

Gunmen settle score in Sidon slaying

SIDON (Reuters). — Gunmen shot dead the father of a former Israeli-backed militia leader yesterday, apparently settling a score that dated back to the Israeli occupation of Sidon, police said.

Ali Abdallah al-Garamti, 55, died instantly, and his attackers escaped in the narrow, winding streets of the old quarter of this port city.

Garamti was the father of Mohammed al-Garamti, otherwise known as Abu Arida, a Sunni Moslem Lebanese. He had led a 150-man militia in Sidon which had been armed by Israel to patrol the Palestinian camps after the Israeli invasion in 1982.

In deep sorrow,
we announce the death of our mother
NEOMI SPIEGELSTEIN
The funeral will take place on Sunday, September 20, 1987 (26 Elul 5747) leaving the Municipal Funeral Parlour, 5 Rehov Dafna, Tel Aviv, at 2:30 p.m. for Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.
Mourners: Son and Daughter-in-law, Wolf and Ellie

With deep sorrow we announce the death of
ABRAHAM JACK GRAFMAN
The funeral took place in the family circle yesterday, September 17, 1987.
Shiva at 16 Rehov Keren Hayesod, Apt. 6, Ra'anana.
Julia Grafman
Gefen and Grafman families

Hitachdut Olai Britannia The Jerusalem Post National Union of Journalists
On the shloshim of the death of our dear colleague
MARK SEGAL
A MEMORIAL GATHERING
will be held on Sunday, September 20, 1987, at 6 p.m. at Beit Sokolow, 4 Rehov Kaplan, Tel Aviv.
The unveiling of the tombstone will take place on the same day, at 4 p.m., at the Kiryat Shaul cemetery.

We deeply mourn the passing of
EDIE NAVON
The funeral service will be held at the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour, Rehov Bar-Ilan, Jerusalem, today, Friday, September 18, at 10 a.m.
The Family

Ezrath Nashim Hospital announces with deep sorrow the passing of
EDITH (Edie) NAVON
Devoted member of the Board, and President of Hug Yovel.
We express our sincere condolences to her family.
Management and Staff of Ezrath Nashim

The Jerusalem Friends of the Hebrew University deeply mourn the passing of
EDITH NAVON
a devoted member of our organization and dedicated supporter of the Hebrew University
She will be sadly missed.

Top aide leaves Aquino's cabinet

MANILA, Philippines (AP) — President Corason Aquino announced yesterday that her controversial top aide, executive secretary Joker Arroyo, was leaving the cabinet, but said the government would "hold fast" to ideals he represents.

Aquino praised the 61-year-old human rights lawyer as "a man of unwavering fidelity, proven courage, patriotism and true nationalism."

Arroyo's removal had long been demanded by military groups, including those that staged the bloody coup attempt August 28. That triggered the resignation of the entire 25-member cabinet on September 9 and plunged the Aquino administration into the gravest political crisis of its turbulent 18 months.

In announcing Arroyo's departure, Aquino lavishly praised the man denounced by the military as a communist sympathizer.

"A man of unwavering fidelity, proven courage, patriotism and true nationalism leaves the public service," she told a national television audience.

"I hope no one interprets his departure to mean that these ideals, which fired our struggle for democracy, have likewise departed as the ideals of the new nation and government we established. For I shall continue to hold fast to these ideals."

She named Catalino Macaraig, Arroyo's deputy, as her new executive secretary. Macaraig, 60, was a deputy justice minister under ousted president Ferdinand Marcos and was vice president of a mining company before joining her administration.

Aquino recalled Arroyo's struggle for human rights during the Marcos era, including his legal defence of her imprisoned husband, Benigno, who was assassinated in 1983 upon returning from self-imposed exile in the United States.

"When integrity was unpopular and unsafe, Arroyo stood by my husband and by the cross of democracy," she said. "Countless men and women owed their rescue from torture and unjust imprisonment to his brave and tireless efforts to give them what protection he could from the laws at that time."

She said Arroyo agreed to leave the government Wednesday night in hopes his departure "would bring peace and quiet" to her factious administration.

"He will not be disappointed in this hope," Aquino added. "We have already paid too high a price for these ideals to throw them away for expediency."

Aquino, meanwhile, received a letter yesterday from President Ronald Reagan reaffirming U.S. support for her government. The letter was delivered by Gaston Sigur, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and Pacific affairs, who met with the president for 45 minutes.

Presidential spokesman Teodoro Benigno later told reporters the two talked about the coup attempt and ways to revive the economy, which received a sharp setback in the Aug. 28 mutiny, in which at least 53 people were killed and hundreds wounded.

Sigur said the United States would speed up aid to the Philippines and do "everything we possibly can" to strengthen the Aquino government.

Benigno said Aquino told Sigur she hoped to improve relations between the government and military. The spokesman quoted Aquino as saying, "I think I am the best example of how we can forget the past."

Rebel soldiers were led in the coup attempt by Col. Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan, who remains in hiding.

Honasan helped lead the civilian-military uprising in February, 1986 that ousted Marcos and swept Aquino into power. Like other critics, Honasan has claimed that Aquino has done little to defeat the communists.



Jordan's Queen Noor smiles winsomely as she and King Hussein arrived in Switzerland yesterday for a three-day visit, the first state visit by the Jordanian monarch (AFP)

Peking prepares for rush of Taiwanese

PEKING (Reuters). — China said yesterday it was preparing a warm reception for thousands more Taiwanese who will come to visit mainland relatives after the expected lifting of a Taipei government ban on such trips. Heating up its propaganda war with Taipei, the People's Daily overseas edition devoted three front-page articles to the Taiwan issue.

One quoted reports from Taiwan newspapers saying that the government there is likely to lift soon a 38-year-old ban on visits by its people to relatives on the mainland and that, "people could not wait to come."

It said more than 10,000 Taiwan people had come annually in recent years in spite of the ban and departments all over China were making preparations "to facilitate free travel" for the rush of visitors once the ban was officially lifted.

The two most famous visitors, a pair of journalists from the Taiwan Independence Evening Post, who arrived in Peking in a blaze of publicity early Tuesday morning, have been touring the city and yesterday interviewed a top Peking tourist official.

The mainland press has given generally low-profile coverage to their visit. But the Shenzhen Special Zone Daily published a picture of the two walking in Tiananmen Square in central Peking.

It quoted one, Li Yung-Teh, as saying he hoped, if the Taiwan government agreed, to come back to

Peking at the end of October to cover a major meeting of the ruling Communist Party and to become his paper's resident correspondent in Peking.

In another sign of liberalisation, the Taiwan government recently announced it would allow the publication of certain books by mainland authors.

Not to be outdone, The People's Daily said that China had in 1985 and 1986 published 130 books by Taiwan authors on subjects such as economics, culture, education, music and literature.

It said Taiwan authors enjoyed the same rights as Hong Kong and mainland authors and their books could not be copied, translated or excerpted without their permission and fees being paid.

Another article boasted how the Taiwan Strait, which runs between the island and the mainland, had become "the golden channel" since ships started using it after tensions between the two sides eased in 1979. It said more than 90 ships a month now used the strait, with 16 million tons of cargo transported through it last year.

Taiwan, still technically at war with Peking, controls two islands, Kinmen and Matsu, both within sight of China in the Taiwan Strait.

Taiwan said on Tuesday troops on the islands used machine guns to chase away 850 Chinese fishing boats in the past week.

Pretoria reforms would let suburbs stay white

CAPE TOWN (Reuters). — South African whites could keep their suburbs to themselves for as long as they wished under reform proposals published yesterday that would leave one of the keystones of apartheid largely unchanged.

The government's main advisory body, the President's Council, said after three years' deliberation that it could not recommend scrapping the Group Areas Act, which dictates where people live according to the colour of their skin.

"This would be unacceptable to the majority of whites," the council's 250-page report said, citing UN studies on the rights of minorities to justify retaining residential segregation.

The report did recommend scrapping a less fundamental apartheid law, the separate amenities act,

which enables local authorities to segregate anything from buses to beaches.

But it advised against new legislation compelling conservative white councils to desegregate immediately.

Blacks, who make up 74 per cent of the population and are confined by apartheid to overcrowded townships far from city centres, were not represented on the council. Whites make up five million of the country's 34 million people.

The report said that if other races were allowed to move freely into white suburbs, "there are a great many whites who believe the value of their property might drop and rights for which they have worked long and hard would be prejudiced."

The council suggested one reform

to residential apartheid — allowing property developers to build new multi-racial suburbs if they thought they could find homebuyers.

It also proposed allowing liberal whites to petition to open up their suburbs to blacks, mixed-race coloureds and Indians.

But the four government-appointed provincial administrations would still be able to veto the decision, at the end of a lengthy process of consultation in which any non-whites already living illegally in the area would have no say.

The report was signed by only 13 of the 19 members of the multi-party committee.

One Indian, three coloured members and a white liberal rejected the report as inadequate. A far-right white conservative rejected it as diluting pure apartheid.

Wily PoW families float message on Mekong

NAKHON PHANOM, Thailand (Reuters). — Thailand barred a group of relatives of U.S. servicemen missing in Indochina from sending leaflets into Laos by balloon — so they floated them on the Mekong River.

The Thai government forbade the party of six relatives, led by a former U.S. Congressman, from using helium-filled balloons to send the message of a \$2.4 million reward for the release of any prisoner.

"We appreciate the Thai government thought that was somewhat inflammatory, so we are abiding by their wishes," former congressman William Hendon told reporters who travelled to this remote northeast corner of Thailand to witness the event.

Several of the relatives, who flew to Thailand from the U.S. on Wednesday, waded up to their waists in the river as the sun set and threw the leaflets, in Vietnamese and Lao, packed in watertight bags, into the river.

The Mekong forms the frontier between Thailand and Laos and flows on through Kampuchea and Vietnam.

Beth Stewart, whose father Peter has been missing since his plane was shot down on the Laos-Vietnam border in 1966, said it was a "very important message

that we believe will bring our fathers, our brothers, our loved ones home."

Laos and Vietnam deny they are holding any American prisoners of war but they are cooperating in the search for the remains of missing servicemen.

The U.S. government, which has a list of 2,416 servicemen missing in action (MIAs) in the 1963-75 conflict, frowns on such independent initiatives.

During a visit to Laos in August by a senior National Security Council official, Richard Childress, it was agreed that Laos would continue its search for missing servicemen and the U.S. side repeated its opposition to private efforts on MIAs.

A Thai government statement said it was not allowing the leaflet action because it would mean "using Thailand as the base for a psychological action in Laos." Bangkok has been trying to improve relations with Laos after years of border skirmishing.

Police watched the leaflets being thrown into the river, an action they had sanctioned. They did not intervene.

British police chief urges: castrate persistent sex offenders

LONDON (Reuters). — A British police chief, who once said his work was inspired by God, yesterday called for the castration of persistent sex offenders to help restore the moral health of the nation.

James Anderson, Manchester police chief, said in an interview with

Independent Radio News that sex offenders should, if necessary, be physically prevented from repeating their crimes.

"If that means removing their uncontrollable sexual urges by some form of castration, then I would support that as a proper course of action," he said.

"Rape, sexual violence and child abuse, physical and sexual in all its direct or perverted forms, either on the streets or in the family, are indications in my opinion of both the moral health and criminal condition of the nation," he added.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

Cuckolded clergyman fined for kicking police

LUDVIKA, Sweden (Reuters). — A clergyman was fined by a court in this central Swedish town for kicking and spitting at policemen who stopped him from reaching his wife and her lover, court officials said yesterday.

The court heard that the Lutheran minister, after learning of his wife's affair, followed her and her lover to a holiday cottage. He tried to break the door down when the couple would not let him in and police were called.

The minister admitted the charges, saying he was beside himself at the time. His local parish is to consider his future.

Escalator kills woman

NEW YORK (Reuters). — A 35-year-old woman was swallowed and crushed to death by an escalator in a crowded office building.

Emma Niskala, a 35-year-old mother of three, died on Wednesday in the lobby of the New York Telephone Company in Brooklyn, where she worked.

Police said the step on which she was standing suddenly collapsed, plunging her into the bowels of the upward-bound escalator. An investigation into the accident is under way.

Six nomads in Turkey killed by Kurdish rebels

ANKARA (Reuters). — Kurdish rebels killed six nomads in a raid in the southeastern Turkish province of Siirt on Wednesday night, local officials said yesterday. They said the rebels attacked a group of nomads living in tents on a pasture near the village of Karagacit and shot six of them dead.

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There's more to 'Rambo' than bullets and brawn

By ANDREA KING

For The Jerusalem Post
Sylvester Stallone wants the Israeli public to know that there is more to him than bullets and brawn. For the first time in Israel, and indeed for the first time anywhere in over a year, media-shy Stallone, here filming *Rambo III*, has decided to give a press conference. It will be held in the next few weeks, during the filming of the interior scenes of the movie in a warehouse-cum-sound studio in Jaffa.

The actor denies the report that he requested pink towels at the Moriah Hotel in Sdom, where he is staying while shooting nearby. He claims that he only asked for extra bath towels since he showers so often — after sleeping, filming and exercising.

Stallone is extremely health conscious and works out for an hour each day with his American trainer, with equipment he brought with him from the U.S., says Barbara Barkay, public relations manager for the Tel Aviv Hilton, where the press conference is to take place.

In addition to working out, Stallone runs 10km. a day and watches his diet very carefully. He brought his personal chef with him to prepare his meals which consist primarily of fish, raw and steamed vegetables, and fresh fruit. Stallone doesn't drink hard liquor but is a connoisseur and collector of fine wines.

The actor-screenwriter also collects art and financially supports young artists in the U.S. For several years, the man who is usually dressed in boxing trunks or battle gear on the screen has been on both *Vogue's* and *Esquire's* list of best dressed men.

Stallone also loves classical, pop and jazz music. His brother Frank is



Sylvester Stallone portraying John Rambo. (Caroco Pictures)

a song writer and next year the two will be making a movie about the adventures of two brothers, entitled *The Line*.

Stallone, who completed the script for the first *Rocky* film in three weeks, is a workaholic. But he regrets that in between filming, acting, writing and training in Israel, he has not had time to play his favourite sport, soccer. In one of his early acting roles, Stallone was a soccer player. The part demanded no training as he was a soccer instructor in

college. In his current film, the third in a seemingly endless series, John Rambo travels to Afghanistan to rescue his old friend, played by Richard Crenna, even though, in his last film, Rambo vowed never again to go into enemy territory.

Despite his macho image on screen, Stallone needs to be protected off screen from throngs of unruly fans. Since *Rocky*, he has travelled with a personal bodyguard, who has accompanied him to Israel.

A matter of principle says NRP J'lem councillor

Bergman: I had no choice but to quit

By DAVID BAKER

For The Jerusalem Post
David Bergman leaned back in his chair and waved his arms excitedly as he talked. "I just couldn't take it any more," the 50-year-old municipal council member said. "It got to a point where if I had stayed with Teddy, I would have been regarded as a traitor to my constituents. Something had to be done, and immediately."

Earlier this week, Bergman's two-member National Religious Party group bolted Teddy Kollek's coalition in the council, leaving the Jerusalem mayor with a narrow 17-14 majority. After persistent efforts to convince Kollek to halt film screenings on the Sabbath, Bergman came away empty-handed. A close working relationship had been established between the two since Bergman's election to the council in 1969, but this time a sharp difference in opinion proved irreconcilable.

A spokesman for Kollek said the mayor expressed "sorrow" upon hearing of his colleague's resignation from the coalition. "It appears to me that the resignation was a result of extremism...in Jerusalem; it is impossible to satisfy everyone on everything, because everyone wants it all," the mayor said in a statement.

Jerusalem born and raised, Bergman spent 15 years in the education ministry before entering the council on the NRP ticket. After serving in



David Bergman

the IDF in the 1950s, he went on to a post in the Bnei Akiva movement, and was later ordained as a rabbi. "If anyone thinks that it was an easy decision for me to leave Teddy's coalition, he is wrong," Bergman told *The Jerusalem Post*. He had the look of a man who had been compelled to desert someone he had worked with side by side for the past two decades. "Our relationship was extraordinary. What it will be now I don't know, because of Teddy's position on the Sabbath issue."

But Bergman showed no signs of

second thoughts. "As a representative of a religious party, you couldn't expect me to sit in a coalition that approved films on Shabbat. The NRP would have lost its right to exist, and I would be a kippa-wearing liar," he said.

According to Bergman, Kollek has been a superb mayor of Jerusalem. "The best we've ever had," he said. "I admire him greatly. He put Jerusalem on the map, turning it into an international city. Although we disagree fiercely on the Shabbat film controversy, Teddy has done

great things for Jewish life in the city."

In 1979, Bergman was in charge of an experiment in which Jerusalem residents were provided with Friday night entertainment without offending the Orthodox community's Sabbath values. Live plays were performed at the Pargod, the Khan, and Jerusalem theatres. Tickets were sold in advance, and the lighting was operated by Shabbat clocks. According to Bergman, the performances played to "packed houses," each week. He himself was known to frequent the plays.

Bergman describes as "tragic" the weekly confrontations between the Orthodox and the secularists. "The secularists must understand that Jerusalem is special, it is the city of the Western Wall. You can't enter a Jewish part of the city and violate the Shabbat without creating problems." On the other hand, he is clearly against stone throwing by *haredim*, calling it "immoral and against the laws of Shabbat." The cries of "Shabbos" are an expression of the pain felt by the Orthodox demonstrators, and they are understandable, he says.

Regarding the future of Jerusalem, the NRP leader warns of a "civil war" in the city if a solution is not found soon. The key to the problem, he says, is respect for Judaism. "When Teddy Kollek walks into a mosque, he removes his shoes as a sign of respect. He should also respect what we have here."

'School integration hasn't closed gap between children'

By BERNARD JOSEPHS

Jerusalem Post Reporter
School integration, the main plank in the country's education policy over the past 17 years, has failed to close the social and educational gap between the children of Jews from Europe and those whose parents originated in Moslem countries, according to a report by sociologists.

The report shows that Israelis with European or American backgrounds dominate the white collar professions and are much more likely to have an academic education than people from the Eastern communities. The gap between the two groups has actually widened in some respects, it adds.

A copy of the report has been handed to Education Ministry officials who are concerned at its findings. Last night a teachers' leader said that since the document was based on a survey carried out in 1983, the slashing of the education budget since then meant that the current situation was certain to be even worse.

The report was produced by a team from the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Research headed by Dr. Ya'acov Nahon. It found that the gap in educational attainments between Western and Oriental Jews in the past few years had become wider than it was 10 or even 20 years ago. Only 6.1 per cent of youngsters from Oriental families were receiving an academic education; the figure for those with Western backgrounds was more than 28 per cent.

Nahon accused the education authorities of pushing students from Oriental families into courses of study that would qualify them only for blue collar jobs.

Other findings in the report said that over 63 per cent of Oriental Jews were employed in manual work, whereas over 70 per cent of those from American or European backgrounds were in white collar jobs.

The conclusions presented by the researchers suggest that the growth of the educational system has done nothing to close the social gap, despite the belief to the contrary.

Hanna Maron, a spokeswoman for the High School Teachers' Association, said that her organization had not yet formulated an official response to the report. "As a teacher I can tell you that we are not surprised by it. It is not enough to run an integration policy by just putting children from different backgrounds into the same class. Such a policy requires money to be correctly implemented and the education budget has been cut every year since 1982."

"Today the children are together at school and then they go back to their own neighborhoods in the afternoon. Those whose families are economically better off — and these tend to be from the Western group — get extra courses, trips to museums, special lessons that are paid for by their parents. The others do not."

Schools should be open during the afternoon, with courses for parents who in some cases do not know how to read or write, said Maron. Such community schools would allow the children to remain together and learn from each other. "If they just sit together in class and then separate for the rest of the day, how can you expect the gap to be closed?" she asked.

Most important, she said, was allocating bigger budgets to integration so that pupils could study in smaller classes. "If the education budget is cut again then the gap will continue to widen and integration will be meaningless," warned Maron.

Labour eyeing separate Arab list

By MENACHEM SHALEV

Post Political Reporter
Labour Party ministers yesterday focused their attention on the potentially promising electoral prize represented by the close to 300,000 Arab and Druse voters who will be eligible to participate in next year's elections, and decided to examine the possibility of setting up a Labour-affiliated Arab list which would vie for their votes.

The weekly meeting of the ministers considered a report submitted by Dr. Yosef Ginat, formerly the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs, in which he disputes the widely accepted premise that Israeli Arabs are undergoing a process of "Palestinization." Ginat claims that Israeli

Arabs aim at achieving equal rights for themselves as Israeli citizens. The ministers decided yesterday to continue discussing the possibility of setting up a separate Arab list. Such a list, if established, would not come in place of the Arab and Druse candidates in Labour's own list.

The Arab vote could theoretically account for 14-15 mandates in the next Knesset, and could hold the balance of power between the major political blocs. Labour ran several separate lists in the 1950s and 1960s. They failed to inspire any enthusiasm among the younger generation of Arab voters in the '70s and '80s. (See Weizman on "war and peace," page 6)

Austrian FM threatens to withdraw ambassador

VIENNA (Reuters). — Foreign Minister Alois Mock, accusing President Kurt Waldheim's critics of reviving demons of the past, threatened yesterday to withdraw Austria's ambassador to Israel.

Mock spoke two days after Labour Party secretary-general Uzi Baram told Chancellor Franz Vranitzky that Israel would not return its own top envoy as long as Waldheim remained president.

Israel's last ambassador to Austria, Michael Elitzur, retired last October and has not been replaced following allegations by the World Jewish Congress that Waldheim was involved in war crimes while serving in the German army during World War II. Israel is now represented in Vienna by a charge d'affaires.

Baram said that Israel would not send an ambassador to Vienna who would have to present his credentials to Waldheim.

Mock told a news conference that diplomatic relations should be carried out on the principle of reciprocity.

In response to a question, the foreign minister said Ambassador Otto Pleinert could be withdrawn from Tel Aviv if Israel did not return its ambassador within half a year.

"International relations have functioned perfectly well at the charge d'affaires level," Mock said. Mock, political leader of the conservative People's Party which supported Waldheim's election in June 1986, added:

"The head of state was elected with an overwhelming majority and has a right to a corresponding respect at home and abroad."

"Whoever believes one can achieve political goals through hate and intransigent agitation only calls up once again the demons of Austria's past."

Leaders of Austria's small Jewish community have cited a rise in anti-Semitic activity since Waldheim's election.

IAF challenged to 'fight against enemy's missiles'

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Post Defence Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Speaking to defence reporters yesterday shortly before handing over command to Aluf Avihu Bin-Nun, outgoing Air Force commander Amos Lipidot said the Air Force's challenges included protecting Israel's skies, taking part in ground battles, and "fighting against ground-to-air missiles (and) ground-to-ground missiles." He said there were also "operational needs" which must be "translated into weapons" such as advanced air-to-air missiles and air-to-ground bombs.

The usually tight-lipped Lipidot did not detail the Air Force's plans but his comments yesterday about the enemy's ground-to-ground missiles appeared to reflect concern about Syria's missile capability. According to the 1986 Middle East Military Balance just published by Tel Aviv University's Institute for Strategic Studies (in cooperation with *The Jerusalem Post*), Syria is advancing towards the development of chemical warheads for its missiles.

Lapidot indicated that defence against enemy missile attacks was the Air Force's responsibility because its mandate concerns "everything that flies."

He said that in addition to new weaponry the Air Force needed systems to enhance its organization, headquarters, and fighting methods. Enemy air forces pose a direct

threat to Israel, outnumbering the IAF by a ratio of 3:1 or 4:1, he reported. The IAF will need to expand its forces while "combining several (different) airborne weapons."

"Our ability to fight under such ratios and with the kind of results we expect depends on the Air Force being used as a combined and integrative fighting system and not just as a combination of so many planes and so many missiles," he said.

But the IDF will take time to complete its long-term plan devised following the cabinet's decision to scrap the Lavi. The detailed plan is now being drafted in consultation with the General Staff, he said.

One question that still remains after the cabinet decision concerns the fate of 27 Pratt and Whitney 1120 engines ordered for the Lavi. They could be installed in the Phantom (as has been done in two planes in a programme called Phantom 2,000); with slight modifications they could be installed in the F-15 and F-16.

Some of the money freed by the decision to halt the Lavi will "probably" go to maintaining the IAF's current force and not to research, development and procurement, Lapidot reported.

He did not provide any figures on training accidents, but he did say that accidents had been halved in the past four years.

West Bank 'Peace' radio station promoted

The head of the West Bank Village Leagues, Jamil al-Amleh, has returned from a trip to the U.S., which he says was designed to raise money for a radio station to be called "The Voice of Peace of the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

Al-Amleh said he had travelled across the country, meeting with business leaders and congressmen, including Republican senator Robert Dole, to "promote the ideas of peace and of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation."

Al-Amleh said he had received

significant media coverage in the U.S., and that similar local exposure was needed to combat what he said was a monopoly of the Palestinian press exercised by PLO supporters. Palestinian media in the territories do not reflect the views of the majority in the areas, he said.

Al-Amleh said he would seek approval to establish a radio and television station, and publish a newspaper named "Peace," to disseminate his platform: opposition to terrorism, a negotiated peace, and establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian

confederation.

Al-Amleh first announced his intention of opening the station some two months ago, but has yet to submit a formal request to the Civil Administration. The Village Leagues, whose stronghold is in the rural area around Hebron, were encouraged by the Civil Administration in the early 80's as an alternative to Palestinian nationalist groups in the West Bank, but in recent years, the Israeli authorities have withdrawn much of their support for the organization.

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David Landau and Menachem Shalev speculate on the outcome of the power struggle for Shamir's mantle

Summer, 1991. TEL AVIV - The Exhibition Grounds. The Herut Convention: By the second night the mood of the more than 2,500 delegates had turned "hot and ugly." In the words of the radio newscaster, "Ongoing party chairman Yitzhak Shamir could no longer avert the showdown between the two principal contenders for his crown: Ariel Sharon and David Levy."

Just after midnight, the shouts from the floor reached a crescendo as the beleaguered supporters of Levy and Sharon chanted - for the first time in unison - "hatzba, hatzba!"

On the platform, the Convention chairman, growing paler by the minute, surrounded by half a dozen stocky security guards, was seen shouting "Gentlemen, Gentlemen!" but could not make himself heard over the roar of the crowd. He glanced at Shamir, who nodded, left his seat and slowly started making his way backstage.

The former prime minister's departure was a sign for three delegates in the front row to follow him. Moshe Katsav, Dan Meridor and Binyamin Netanyahu fled out behind their ageing party leader.

Exploiting the lull created by the surprising departure of Shamir, the chairman raised his voice and told the confused delegates: "We have one more motion for the agenda and then we will vote." He motioned to the white-shirted Herut MK standing silently behind the podium, nervously clutching a sheaf of papers. Sharon quietly slipped out of a side entrance, a look of disgust tempered by apprehension on his face, and made his way to his headquarters nearby. MK Benny Begin, sweat streaming

down his forehead, concentrated his gaze on a spot somewhere above the convention floor.

Ladies and Gentlemen, distinguished delegates to the Herut Convention. There is a man among us who would like nothing better than to rule over us. He is counting on the frailties of our memory, and has cunningly endeavored in the past several years to make us forget who he is and where he came from. I have here in my hand a message," Begin said, and raised the pack of folio-sized papers high over his head, "which you must all hear before you make your choice."

Begin looked down and commenced reading "I, Menachem Begin..." Pandemonium broke out. Scores of enraged delegates stormed the platform. More than an hour passed before order was restored and Begin was allowed to continue.

PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR has indicated on more than one occasion that he does not want any of three recognized contenders for the Herut leadership as his inevitable successor. His successors, he says, might very well be chosen from the ranks of the "second generation." Herut's widely esteemed young guard, comprised of party "princes" and successful development town politicians.

Coming from the taciturn Shamir, such statements can safely be taken as more than mere whimsy or speculation. The question is whether the prime minister can persuade and manipulate his party into skipping over the present generation of would-be helmsmen.

It is yet to be seen what effect Moshe Arens's resignation will have

STAR-GAZING AT HERUT

on the continued viability of his candidacy for Herut's leadership. Israeli political history has tended to cast into oblivion politicians who act on their principles. Menachem Savidor and Mordechai Zipori come to mind. With more than a year left before the next scheduled elections, the memory of Arens's prominent place in the gallery of Herut leaders may well fade.

Arens's supporters believe that his chairmanship of the all-powerful Herut secretariat, especially in an election year when party machines assume critical importance, will serve to offset his lack of ministerial status. Arens will spend the next year carefully building his inner-party power base, they say.

But even Arens's staunchest supporters harbour nagging doubts about his ability - indeed, his will - to lead Herut. At his best, Arens can barely keep Herut delegates awake. He has yet to shed the image of the "rational, calculating Anglo-Saxon professor," a persona alien to the firebrand-craving Herut functionaries.

"Why have you abandoned us, what have we signed?" cried Shamir

emotionally at the Herut Central Committee meeting in Ariel. "You put up a brave stand on the Lavi, why must you spoil it by resigning?"

Shamir has pointedly refrained from contributing to the plaudits accorded Arens's resignation. He appears to be genuinely troubled by Arens's "defection from the ranks," not only because of the dictates of political solidarity but also, perhaps, as a telling sign of Arens's lack of capacity for leading the party.

DAVID LEVY commands the allegiance of about a third of the elected Herut delegates. But his incessantly disruptive efforts to gain the recognition which he believes his duesome say his megalomania - have already eroded his stature in the party. Witness the surprisingly limited support he picked up at Herut's Convention in April, when he vied for the post of deputy chairman of the party.

Levy, say party insiders, can always count on near-unanimous support... for the Number Two spot. Even his own supporters are thought to shy away from the prospect of his leading Herut.

For more than two hours, the delegates sat in stunned silence as Benny Begin read his father's long awaited denunciation of Sharon. Many of them were seen sitting with eyes closed, rocking back and forth as if taking part in a mystical religious experience. "With your eyes closed," many would say for years to come "it was hard to believe that it was not the man himself who was standing there."

"And so, dear friends and comrades," Begin cried "do not lead yourselves willingly to the abyss of defeat and destruction. Do not surrender our beloved Herut to him who would tear down all we have built."

Sharon himself was nowhere to be seen. His supporters sat in the spacious congress hall, heads bowed. They knew that the irresistible force had finally met its immovable object.

There was a deathly silence in the auditorium. The curtains behind the podium stirred and Shamir emerged. He strode with surprising vigour to the microphone. Behind him stood the triumvirate which the delegates would in a few moments embrace and welcome as if they had known all

along that this was to be the culmination of the Convention. Herut would be led by a collective: Moshe Katsav stood directly behind Shamir, flanked on both sides by Meridor and by Netanyahu.

POLITICAL divining is even more prone to pitfalls than regular prophecy. There are so many unknowns. In Herut today prognostication is doubly difficult because the mysteries that shroud the future obfuscate the present, too. Indeed, even the past - Menachem Begin's sudden withdrawal - is still an enigma.

What is his present role? And more importantly, what is his potential power in a future crisis? Is it true that as long as Begin lives Sharon cannot grab the leadership? Does Begin, brooding in self-incarceration, plan to stop Sharon whenever he makes his move? If so, can Begin project that veto beyond his own lifetime, by enshrining it in a written political statement? Will the pistol revealed in the first act actually fire in the last?

Hardly less mysterious than Begin is his chosen successor, Shamir. He has been at the centre of public life for a decade; and yet who truly knows what he thinks, and what he wants?

Those who purport to know say he is profoundly aware of Sharon's ominous shortcomings, and profoundly opposed therefore to the prospect of Sharon ever inheriting the mantle. But it was Shamir who singlehandedly - or, rather, aided and abetted by Shimon Peres - resuscitated the fallen Sharon in 1984 by offering him an important portfolio.

Granted, Shamir recently inflicted a very public humiliation on

Sharon, driving off his assault on the position of 'chairman of the policy committee' in front of 2,000 intrigued Herut Central Committee delegates. But Sharon has quickly licked his wounds and returned to the fray.

Shamir's remarks on the possibility of "skipping a generation" in Herut has intrigued party insiders. But they wonder today whether he is moving fast enough, and determinedly enough, to translate those thoughts into eventual reality. His only actual step in the rejuvenating process was Katsav's appointment in 1984, and that was clearly a signal. But there have been no signals since.

The third great unknown in the Herut equation is the convention-become-central-committee itself. This enormous, amorphous body has the size of a Soviet or Chinese central committee - but none of the discipline and predictability.

Will the 2,000-odd delegates have the political savvy, when the moment of decision comes, to reject Sharon? Will they realize that in the final analysis he is an election-loser for Likud, that his leadership would deter the middle-of-the-road, "floating voter" whose support Likud must win?

Most of the 2,000 are hard-core Herut activists elected by the party branches. They reflect the purest and most pristine grass-roots democracy in practice.

But, as activists and ideologues on the local level, they tend to represent the most extreme and strident strains. They seem to respond to the crudest forms of jingoism - and their bayed appreciation seems to spur the party leaders to ever more

(Continued on page 15)

Menachem Shalev interviews Minister Moshe Katsav

The dark-horse candidate?

He is well-liked in Herut, respected in Labour and has been treated well by journalists, especially those who wish to offset accusations that their coverage of Herut is negative.

Katsav is also widely respected in religious circles, that all-important sphere of Herut influence. He has four sons and a daughter. Two of his sons are students of the National Religious Party's MK Haim Drukman at the Or Etzion yeshiva in moshav Shafrir in the south.

If Herut takes the bold step of jumping a generation, Katsav may find himself hurtling to the top. He is not a firebreathing orator, but his performance in April revealed a tough interior beneath the amiable surface.

Katsav's main drawback is his lack of experience in foreign and defence matters. Nevertheless, if Likud heads or takes part in the next coalition, Katsav would angle for the Education Ministry.

Katsav spoke to *The Post* this week just hours before departing for a meeting in Geneva of European labour ministers.

On the Palestinians: We have done very little in the past 40 years to try and change the attitudes of the Palestinian Arabs towards Israel, such as their demand for self-determination. They must understand that they have no such right in Judea and Samaria. A nation is not created in 30-40 years, it must have historic, linguistic, national, cultural and religious singularity, all traits which, from a historical viewpoint, the Palestinians lack.

But I do not assume to decide for the Arabs whether they should legitimately claim to be a nation or

not. I have but one stipulation: the realization of their rights should not come at the expense of the Jewish people.

The only compromise that I can contemplate is the partition of all of Mandatory Palestine, including Jordan, between the Jews and the Arabs. We will hold the lands west of the Jordan and they will hold the lands east of the Jordan. 60 per cent of the population there is Palestinian anyway, and the Hashemites are largely imported.

The notion of a 'transfer', which has been raised by some of my Likud colleagues, is a negative one. There are two types of Israelis - those who advocate a 'transfer', and those who say that the territories must be returned. Both Kahane and the left do not believe in coexistence. But I give a lot of credit to the Arabs and believe that a good relationship between the two people can be built.

Aliya: 9.5 million Jews in the Diaspora are assimilating rather than coming here and we must come to terms with the fact that the Zionist movement has failed. The Diaspora Jews realize that the leadership in Israel has accepted the lack of aliya as a fait accompli. They realize that the political lobby in the U.S. and the fundraising legitimizes not coming on aliya. I would be much more demanding of the leaders of the Diaspora, even at the expense of political and financial support.

Religious-Secular Relations: In numerous matters, many of our policies today are still guided by concepts set in the 1950s. The original sin is the creation of two separate school systems. No wonder that

later there is a vast gulf between the religious and the secular. I think that there should be one general school system with some degree of religious studies. And there can be a religious-studies stream, just like there is for other subjects.

Political Atmosphere: With the establishment of the national unity government, we missed a golden opportunity to reduce political tensions, and I can only blame the Labour Party and Shimon Peres. He set the pattern of creating tensions and repeatedly attacking the Likud. The Labour ministers' forum decides on its position in advance, thus pre-empting any fruitful dialogue in the cabinet.

On Joining Herut: My political perceptions were forged when I was in high school, and I was mainly influenced by my identification with the pre-state behaviour of Menachem Begin. Those were also days of grave social distress, although I can say that despite the fact that I grew up in a *maabara*, I never felt deprived. My experience does not justify any claim of deprivation. I have made it.

One of the most memorable days in my life was when I read on the front page of *Yediot Aharonot* that the Herut Central Committee had made a special decision to accept three new members to Herut: Judge Binyamin Halevi, former Air Force Commander Ezer Weizman, and Moshe Katsav from Kiryat Malachi. Political Ambitions: Unlike a hurdles runner, my hurdles keep on getting higher. It's a constant race and I want to face ever-higher hurdles.

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Ezer Weizman has dedicated himself to the battle for peace. He believes that the question of Israel's future ties with the Arab states will be the central one facing the voters in the elections next year. He discusses the issue with The Jerusalem Post's Yoram Kessel

WAR OR PEACE?

WHISPER IT in Gath, publish it in the streets of Ashkelon. Indeed, Ezer Weizman would have it proclaimed loudly in the streets of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Or Akiva, Kiryat Shmona and all the towns and villages of Israel - the 1988 election campaign is already under way.

The mercurial minister without portfolio is starting his campaigning early - discarding any vestiges of amity within the national unity government, because he believes that this will be the most momentous election in the country's history, the first time that Israelis will be asked to make a stark choice between attempting to achieve a durable peace and committing the country to incessant war.

The man who made his reputation as one of the architects of Israel's military strength and who has moved swiftly across the political spectrum discarding what he considers hidebound ideologies, is now single-mindedly committed to the "battle for peace."

In a wide-ranging interview on the issues facing the country today it soon becomes clear that in waging that battle he will not be deflected by any of the contemporary issues which preoccupy the body politic and the general public. The Lavi, the question of how the territories are being run, the religious status quo - all take a back seat in his thinking; in fact they hardly figure at all.

After a "year of prevarication" from now until November 1988, ("I now accept that, regrettably, the elections will not be advanced a single day from their due date") Israelis will be asked, he says, to face up to a single question which could decide the future of the whole Zionist enterprise.

He needs no intermediary. Characteristically blunt, incautious and entirely genial, he speaks his mind loud and clear.

"After this dilly-dallying period is over, Labour will be presenting itself as the party that got us out of

Lebanon, brought down inflation, restructured strong ties with the U.S. and will now be leading Israel to an international peace conference. The alternative - succumbing to the tyranny of the status quo means nothing less than the perpetuation of a state of war.

"For its part, the Likud which I believe be led by Arik (Sharon) - and I hope it will be because he will present the choice in its starkest form - will run a scare campaign seeking to capitalize on delicate Jewish nerves, working on the assumption that for natural, unfortunately real historic reasons, Jews often thrive on insecurity. They will be telling us that every Arab is a threat, that no non-Jew is to be trusted."

Not by accident, the analogies he conjures up are with battles, harking back to the period he still regards as his most glorious, when he helped mould the IDF's strength. Not so much in the form of pure military power but by instilling in the country a confidence that it could look after itself.

All it takes, he says simply, is leadership. The kind of leadership that nurtures belief, creates self confidence. "Do you know what was the hardest thing about that famous air strike which essentially won us the Six Day War in its opening few hours? Not the actual attack; that was relatively easy even though we did lose some eight percent of our air force. But persuading the politicians that we could do it. We Jews have tremendous latent strength but also harbour a strong streak of insecurity. People simply didn't believe we could do it ourselves."

"Prior to the Sinai Campaign in 1956 even Ben-Gurion, with his wealth of self-confidence about our ability to determine our own fate, did not fully believe that our pilots could carry out the air mission of the campaign and so French pilots were brought in on standby, just in case.



"The problem of persuading the people of Israel what benefits peace can bring is much the same. There is too much disbelief in peace, a feeling that everyone is out to screw us. It is this lack of confidence we have to overcome."

THIS LEADS ON, naturally, to his personal philosophy that the purpose of Zionism is not merely to create a home for the Jews but to create a new type of Jew who believes in himself, free of previous bondages and rid of old insecurities and complexes.

"We have to guard against those who proclaim incessantly the importance of our remaining proud, straight-backed Jews. If you don't have a problem there is no need to shout about it. It is those who still have a problem who have always to be shouting about it. He implies that it is the Likud which must bear responsibility for harping on such complexes, exploiting their continued existence in order to promote their policies and thus to frustrate peace."

"Peace" he goes on, "means not merely normalizing relations with our neighbours but also normalizing ourselves."

What does it come down to in practical terms? The obvious way to progress is under the umbrella of an international conference says Weizman who has only praise for Shimon Peres' persistent efforts in piecing together what he deems a very viable structure for the peace talks. "All the talk of direct negotiations is pure bunkum. In the long-drawn-out moves towards peace with Egypt only once were there genuinely direct talks between us and the Egyptians. Direct talks - my foot. It was all through the auspices of the United States."

"It's all here, every word," he says reaching for his 'bible' the Camp David documents. "I have the Bible at hand too," he smiles but this is the key to future peace.

"I am the only one from within the Likud who is

actually continuing what their revered leader Menachem Begin began. They've abandoned that policy entirely. It could be argued," he concedes that "Begin was flanked by a former Mapainik (Moshe Dayan) and a future Mapainik," he goes on with a chuckle. "The fact is he signed on the dotted line and when your name is on a cheque you have to pay up."

"In that document it is patently clear that we have recognized the existence of a Palestinian people. That means we have come a long way from the time when Golda refused point-blank to accept such a reality. It could be that within two months of signing, Menachem Begin regretted concluding Camp David ("more like 12 hours," one top American statesman involved in the process once estimated) but the problem had been put on the table, irrevocably so until it is resolved."

Weizman digresses momentarily to pursue a tangential theme. Sharon is surely culpable for the way the Lebanon War was conducted but Menachem Begin cannot get off scot free. He was more than willing to go into Lebanon, in no small measure, I believe, so as to counter-balance what he realized he had done at Camp David.

Camp David proposes explicitly - and nothing has really changed - the format of a four cornered peace square. We can only proceed towards peace when all four corners of the square - Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians - are involved. None can fill the square with peace content if one element is missing. Hussein is quite right when he maintains that if Egypt and Jordan could not conclude peace bilaterally on their own and needed the American umbrella, he can hardly be expected to do with less.

What about the Palestinian element? "We cannot determine the Palestinians' leaders for them. Let me repeat what I have said ad nauseam. I have had no contact with Arafat directly or indirectly," he emphasizes, dismissing the persistent reports that they have been in indirect correspondence.

"But were he or for that matter any Palestinian leader to announce recognition of 242 and 338, acknowledge the sovereign State of Israel with which he is prepared to deal and order a cease-fire, then I would be prepared to meet with him. Arafat has not gone that far yet but there is no taboo."

Is he not concerned that Arafat is exploiting for his own purposes Weizman's almost maverick position within the cabinet to get at Israel's official stance? "If he succeeds in using my commitment to peace then good luck to him. I only hope it helps further the overall purpose. One thing is sure - the day will come when we sit down with a Palestinian leadership irrespective of the personalities once they have altered their present attitude."

AT THE FIRST opportunity he gravitates to the one social issue to which he is prepared to give serious attention - the situation of the 650,000 Israeli Arab citizens. "Sometimes I feel like scream-

ing out loud for us look at what we are doing, recreating in certain ways the way we were treated in the *ghetto*. Budgets are different for Arab councils, opportunities are different and there is a long way to go before people accept the value of co-existence."

There are also, he does not attempt to disguise, clear electoral considerations as well. "There are 300,000 eligible voters in the Arab sector and they have the capacity to tip the scales in favour of peace. I don't doubt that Ronni Milo will be out there trying to 'persuade' them that it is in their interests to back the Likud." Weizman sees Milo's appointment in place of Moshe Arens as the prime minister's adviser on minority affairs, as a direct challenge to his ambitions.

"It's as if," he muses "we've still not rid ourselves of the ghetto spirit. Of course the ghetto could provide security too. Occasionally I feel that while we've managed to get Jews out of the ghetto it's more difficult to get the ghetto out of us."

"What hurt most when the Lavi demonstrations cursed, shouted and even spat at me was their choice of epithets. They didn't label me a rat, a donkey, a son of a bitch. No, they thought the worst taunt they could toss at me was 'Arab'."

Warning again to the theme, he says in respect of the Likud's position on the Lavi that they were again playing on the sensitivities of the "nervous Jews" and portraying us as being screwed by one and all. What kind of rubbish is this talk of complete independence of choice? Rabin is 200 per cent correct when he says that we have no military independence, that we are dependent for our needs on the U.S. It is falsifying the facts to pretend otherwise."

Weizman is proud of his capacity to have moved politically, to have adapted to changing conditions. "Circumstances change and anyone who doesn't change with them is an idiot, a Khomeini. If you have to keep harping on this matter of national pride at every twist and turn then surely you are in trouble. Zionism is more about creating an integral, wholesome nation than an integrated, whole Land of Israel," he says brushing off his previous total dedication to the idea of *Eretz Yisrael Hashlema*.

"Read my 1980 letter of resignation from Menachem Begin's government. It is every bit as valid today."

"The people believed in the peace and they believed in the government. It is not the people who have stopped believing in the peace."

"True leadership could have lit a new spirit and brought to the surface great strengths inside the nation..."

We will be in terrible trouble if we the people of Israel do not accept those truths, he concludes. But his ever-cheery disposition is not disturbed by the thought that in the end the people might shun the right kind of leadership. In his view, they simply cannot afford to.

Are you Jewish?

ALTHOUGH THE PROCESS that led to my aliya began long before May 14, 1948, the final push most decidedly came from alarming stories like the one of the *Daily Express* front page on May 15, 1948 predicting that the Arab armies would overcome the Jews in a matter of days. Accompanying it was a map detailing with huge arrows how the Arab forces would achieve their grand design of sufficing out the newly born Jewish State.

I suppose I still had in the back of my mind one of my more unpleasant memories of the immediate post-war years: stumbling one foggy Manchester morning onto anti-Jewish obscenities chalked on a bombed-out building, the least poisonous being: "Yids, go back to Palestine." And that is what I resolved to do.

For all of us young Zionists those were heady days. We wanted to participate in the great romantic drama unfolding at the other end of the Mediterranean, and fight alongside David in his struggle against the hordes of Goliath.

We were discreetly processed by an efficient organization in London set up to handle volunteers for the War of Independence. After passing the medical examinations, I was directed to report for final travelling instructions to a West End address.

It was a fine midsummer's day when I ascended the staircase leading to a small barber shop in Lower Oxford Street. The proprietor, who was busy cutting a customer's hair, looked round at me and said: "You don't want a haircut, do you?" When I nodded, he indicated a door through which I was to go. Climbing another stairway - and feeling like a character out of Graham Greene - I found myself facing a closed door. I knocked, was told to enter, and found myself looking at Mick Elman, an old friend from Manchester Habonim. Today he is a veteran

member of Kibbutz Kfar Hanassi.

Mick gave me tickets and strict instructions not to speak to anyone before reaching French soil. On the boat train from Victoria station, I took great care not to speak to strangers. As we passed through the customs barrier at Newhaven, a polite, grey-faced man in a shiny suit with the big feet of a policeman, questioned a few of us as to the purpose of our journey. We were all going on holiday to France. The man wanted to know where I would be staying in France. For a moment panic engulfed me, and I had visions of being hauled away to the Tower of London, when the name of a French pen-pal surfaced.

Aboard the Dieppe-Paris train I discovered that the other occupants of my compartment were all headed for the same destination. Little did we know what lay ahead. Five of the eight were men, none except me with any youth movement background. Two had seen war service with the RAF, one had worked in a coal mine, and the most intellectual was a survivor of Nazi Germany. The three girls were quite pretty and one of them was from Karkur but had been stranded in London. The star was Gloria whom everyone later adored.

ARRIVING IN PARIS we found that there had been a bomb attempt the night before on the Haganah offices in L'Avenue de la Grand Armee. After austerly-riden London, Paris was a shining revelation. We had been put in the charge of Budapest-born Stefan, a wily survivor of Nazi Europe. He personified the old description of a Haganian: "the last to enter a revolving door, the first to emerge."

It was thanks to Stefan that our two days of waiting in Paris were so enjoyable. We had little money so he produced an uncle, one of the kings

of the Paris black market, whom we met at the fabled Cafe de la Paix together with similar operators and their smartly-dressed women. The uncle treated us to an evening at the Lido night club, chorus girls, champagne and all. It was all terribly glamorous and I felt suitably guilty at enjoying myself while other Jews were fighting for survival.

We made up for our evening's enjoyment by standing most of the way on the all-night train to Marseille. The special smell of that ancient Mediterranean port was, for most of us, our first introduction to the southern climes. We were on our way to report to the Jewish Agency offices near the harbour. As we drew near we heard lots of noise. Turning a corner we were greeted with the sight of a mass of dark-skinned people wearing some kind of robes. Gloria was convinced that the Arabs had invaded, and she wanted to take the next train back to London. But Stefan dived into the fray and emerged with an explanation: they were Jews from Morocco waiting to be moved to a transit camp.

We, the children of Anglo-Jewry, were quite overwhelmed by our first encounter with North African Jewry, about which we knew next to nothing. Our community was an insular one, and it had been difficult enough in 1938 to get used to our refugee cousins from Germany with their knitted white stockings and stiff manners, and after the war to the young survivors of the death camps with their dreadfully pinched faces.

Soon we found ourselves in a large house on the outskirts of the town, which resembled a Habonim summer camp. We were greeted by some familiar faces, including Asher Wall-fish (now my colleague at *The Jerusalem Post*), who had been one of the leaders of our Manchester youth movement. It was there that we received cursory military training with imitation weapons, which veterans of the Great War treated with some disdain. It was also there



that I received my first induction into the benign *balagan* with which I, and the rest of us, have had to live ever since. The place was full of volunteers like ourselves from Western Europe.

We were part of what came to be known as Mahal (*Mitnavei Hut: La'aretz* - volunteers from abroad). Later, when I served in the army I encountered those who came to Israel through Gahal (*Giyus Hut: La'aretz* - those mobilized abroad). The difference was that we had homes to go back to, while the Gahalniks did not. Only years later did I learn we had already become an object of interdepartmental conflict between the Mossad and Haganah HQ. They did not quite know what to do with the Jewish "foreign legion" they had called into being.

THE GREAT DAY of departure came and we were given new identities, as part of the standing arrangement with the French Authorities. Mine was Itzik Itzkovich, or something similar. We reached the boat-side in covered trucks.

Awaiting us was a rather miserable-looking boat called the Tampa, which years before might

have been the pride of Florida's coast guard for whom it had been designed. As we were to learn the following month, it was less than suitable for plying the Mediterranean with over 900 passengers and cargo. Our home for the next four weeks bore the flag of Panama and had a Greek crew.

The first few days were too chaotic for precise description. A storm struck us the moment we reached the open sea. Our Mahal group - now grown to 29 - had been placed on the lowest of the three levels of packed two-tiered bunks. The storm had the effect of converting the packed holds into a seashell world of screaming children and moaning adults. After an hour of it the more adventurous of us decided we had had enough and, negotiating the streams of vomit, emerged from the fetid air into the storm above. Everyone in authority had vanished, so our group simply took possession of the crew's dining room. The table tops were our cramped beds for the duration of the journey.

Once the sea became a little less stormy, we discovered that most of our luggage had been lost. We were told it had been swept over the side, as it had been so insecurely tied down on deck before embarkation. Yet the suspicion lingered to the last that the crew helped our possession to disappear. It was less of a loss to me than to the newly-wedded couple from Leeds, for whom by some genius of prior misinformation this had been intended also as a kind of honeymoon journey. The wife wept as she bewailed her lost wedding presents and new clothes.

As our ship ploughed on towards Haifa, we got a look at our fellow passengers crammed down below. It was my first introduction to the reality of mass immigration. Half of them were families straight out of the Casablanca and Rabat *mellahs*. The others were survivors of Hitler's death camps who had been in DP

centres before reaching Marseille. Talk of two contrasting worlds! Members of our Mahal group took on a connecting role, being conversant in Yiddish and French.

In command of us all was a young Haganah emissary who behaved more like a British staff officer than a representative of the more egalitarian army we had been led to expect. He kept his distance from the rest of us, only deigning to speak to representatives chosen by him. He could have given pep-talks, I suppose, to prepare us for the future. We resented the fact that the commander and his first friend, who was the signals operator, shared the relatively comfortable captain's quarters, including his food and his servants. Years later I encountered the Haganah commander in the uniform of a *xav-sereu* of the armoured corps. I suppose he is a senior officer by now, and keeps his chauffeur waiting in his staff car outside expensive restaurants.

We made friends among both groups of immigrants. Years later when I was covering a Histadrut Executive meeting, a youngish man came up to me and reminded me that we had met on the Tampa. He was from one of the Moroccan families on the boat, now living in Jerusalem, and he had climbed up the Matpal trade union hierarchy.

Of the DPs, I remember best the old lady, whom we called "Tante." She would ply us with pieces of delicious chocolate she kept in one of her numerous sacks. Tante was one of the great survivors and told us in her rich Galician Yiddish, with a flash of her magnificent gold teeth (she never told us where they came from) how she had lost everyone in Hitler's Europe. Although in her mid-sixties Tante was convinced she could start life anew in "der Heilige Land." She had an irrepressible optimism and an earthy sense of humour. If I ever think of the Jewish life force, my mind goes back to that

old woman. She was an incredible gossip who always had outlandish stories for us. When our boat engine broke down and we drifted for 10 days to within 90 miles of the North African coast, she had it on the best authority that "unser yiddisher flugzeug" (a Jewish airplane) would rescue us by chucking a rope and then tow us all the way to Haifa.

So there we were in Haifa. Our little boat drew some attention and two American newsmen even flew in from Athens to interview us. We were not allowed off the ship and so we had to admire the shining white buildings from a distance.

The 24-hour guard put on the ship by the Greek authorities did not stop the crowds of local people on an evening stroll coming to have a look at us and even offer to sell us souvenirs and fresh fruit. Nor did the guard prevent the arrival of a much more exciting visitor.

Late one night a dark young Cretan appeared on the boat. With the friendliest of the Greek ship officers translating, we learned that he was an emissary from the Communist underground hiding in the hills since the civil war that had erupted following the Germans' departure. They had heard of the arrival of our boat and wanted to know what we were about. One of our group later claimed that the young messenger had tried to sound us out on whether we had any arms to sell, but I cannot confirm this from my recollection.

The disembarkation came as an anti-climax, with a most bureaucratic reception that succeeded in dampening the greatest of enthusiasts. We had come ready to lay down our lives, and though none of us expected a red-carpet welcome, the Jewish Agency immigration department official might have received us with a trifle more warmth and been less suspicious. We were subjected to an interrogation starting with the question: "Are you Jewish?"

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Post Reporter Charles Hoffman investigates the housing problems of Ethiopian immigrants in Ashkelon



The mobile home camp in Ashkelon.



A flat for Ethiopians in Shimshon.

TRAPPED IN THE HOUSING MAZE

Photos by Patrick Tiktiner/Media

SEVERAL THOUSAND Ethiopian Jews who arrived almost three years ago during Operation Moses are lost in a bureaucratic housing maze created for them by the authorities. These immigrants have been placed "temporarily" in public housing projects that are rapidly deteriorating and which have become ghettos isolating them from other Israelis.

At the eastern edge of the sprawling Shimshon quarter in Ashkelon are four large public housing blocks that comprise the town's "Ethiopian ghetto." In the dirty, barren courtyards between the buildings, dozens of children are playing in the late afternoon. There is only one non-Ethiopian among them.

In the adjacent blocks housing immigrants who were brought here from North Africa about 25 years ago, the residents curse their neighbors and pray for the day when the authorities will disperse the Ethiopians to permanent housing. This will take several years, however, since the Ethiopians in Shimshon are at the bottom of the housing priority list.

The other buildings in Shimshon were recently given a much-needed face lift by Project Renewal, a joint government-Jewish Agency programme. The housing problems created for the Ethiopians in Shimshon is also a joint creation, albeit unintended, of the government and the Jewish Agency.

The housing blocks for the Ethiopians were originally used as an absorption centre until April 1986. It was run by the Aliya Department of the Jewish Agency. Since then, the government was supposed to be looking after the buildings.

In a visit to Shimshon this week, accompanied by Mesfin Ambaw, one of the leaders of the Association of Ethiopian Immigrants, I learned that the situation is far from what it was supposed to be. There we met one of the association's activists,

who was doing a field study of Ethiopian housing conditions in Ashkelon. Association leaders in Jerusalem will collate this study with those conducted in other locations, Ambaw said, and will then take the findings to the authorities to see what can be done to improve the situation.

WHO OWNS this building? I put this question to Tezazu Avraham, 43, who was brought to his flat two years ago after an initial stay in a hotel. "I don't know. We don't pay rent to anybody and nobody takes care of the buildings," he said.

Pointing to the place where his living room window was supposed to be, he added: "This was broken when we moved in, and the people who ran the absorption centre said that it would be fixed. Then they left and now there is no one to fix it."

There are many broken windows, shutters and cabinet doors in these flats, and everybody complains about leaky pipes and faulty plumbing. Garbage is strewn over the courtyards, the lights in the stairwells don't work, and many of the mailboxes have been ripped out. And there is no house committee to make the needed repairs.

Why not replace the window yourself? "Why should he?" interrupted one of his neighbours angrily. "The house doesn't belong to him."

Avraham had to speak through Ambaw as his interpreter, because he could not carry on even this elementary conversation in Hebrew. The other adults we encountered in the housing project also had trouble speaking Hebrew.

If the government said that you could have this flat as your permanent home, would you accept it? The flat has three bedrooms and a relatively spacious living room, which Avraham needs for his wife and six children.

"How can we live like this, with all the Ethiopians together? How



Mesfin Ambaw, a leader of the Association of Ethiopian Immigrants.



Tezazu Avraham, a resident of the Shimshon quarter

can we learn Hebrew if we don't live with Israelis? I don't want to stay here. I asked for a flat in another part of Ashkelon, but only small flats in run-down areas were available, and the officials said that they wouldn't be good for us."

He has no idea when or if he will ever get out of this state of limbo, but the authorities keep making him promises.

Some 800 Ethiopian families are living today in what the authorities call "converted absorption centres," which are located in Ashkelon, Beersheba, Upper Nazareth, Ahula and Safad. These are public housing blocks which were turned into ad hoc absorption centres in the early 1980s when the regular centres were full.

The master plan for the absorption of Ethiopian immigrants, devised by the Absorption Ministry in 1985, warned against turning these temporary centres into permanent housing. Aliya Department social workers, who took care of the immigrants during their first year or so in

Israel, also warned against such a step, saying that it would create "black ghettos."

When the immigrants were moved into these centres, they were told that this was just temporary and that they would eventually get permanent housing elsewhere.

But the heads of the Aliya Department and the Absorption Ministry ignored the advice of their own experts and decided in late 1985 to "convert" these buildings into permanent housing. At that time, the Housing Ministry was not able to supply permanent flats at the expected pace, so this expedient was adopted.

In addition, the Absorption Ministry, which was eager to assert its responsibility for the Ethiopians, pressed the Aliya Department to pull out of these temporary centres by April 1986. The department did as requested, but the condition of the buildings and the morale of the residents deteriorated immediately.

The residents suspected that they were being victimized and refused to sign leases with the Amidar (government) and Amigour (Jewish Agency) public housing companies that own the buildings. Hence the current state of limbo where no one exercises responsibility for the maintenance of the buildings.

THE OVERALL housing picture, through Absorption Ministry figures, shows that about 3,500 Ethiopian families have come to Israel since 1978. Some 2,200 of these families have received permanent housing. About 1,000 families are still in regular absorption centres, often in very crowded conditions. They have top priority for permanent flats.

The remaining several hundred families are those in the converted centres. Some will be moved eventually as part of a "thinning out" of the Ethiopian population there, according to the ministry. The Shimshon converted centre will be com-

pletely emptied and the families relocated, the ministry has promised.

Even worse off than the residents of the converted centres are the approximately 100 families in mobile homes who live in camps run by the Aliya Department in Ashkelon, Or Akiva, Ofakim and Pardess Hanna. These mobile homes were donated 10 years ago by the U.S. government to be used as temporary quarters for Russian immigrants coming at that time.

These mobile homes were not supposed to hold up for more than three years, but they were later pressed into service for the Ethiopians. The results can be seen in the camp in Ashkelon, just across the road from the Shimshon quarter.

Life in this trailer camp is a mixture of sharp contrasts. The residents, mostly from Operation Moses, are depressed, fearing that they will never get out. Almost every day something else in their mobile homes falls apart or disintegrates: water taps, doors, air-conditioners, closets and even bathtubs. The floor has rotted through in some of the homes, and water stains from leaky

ceilings can be seen everywhere. Yet the people try to cope as best as they can, managing to maintain a fairly neat household in these cramped and crumbling quarters.

Aliya Department officials are well aware of these conditions, but claim that the homes are past the point where repair is technically feasible. The only thing to do, they say, is to evacuate them as fast as possible.

The department social workers recently wrote a report warning that the camp in Ashkelon, which seems to be the worst of the lot, is fast becoming a 1980s version of the notorious immigrant transit camps (ma'abarot) of the 1950s. The residents, the report said, are becoming apathetic and a serious regression in their behaviour threatens to wipe out the progress they have made so far in adjusting to modern life.

The department has recently convinced the government to give the mobile-home camps high priority for permanent housing.

But how long will it take for the government to provide permanent housing to the 1,300 families still languishing in temporary quarters?

Earlier this year, the Absorption Ministry determined that NIS75 million would be needed to buy 1,000 flats, so that most of the outstanding housing problems could be solved by April 1988. But, according to the Housing Ministry, the Treasury has budgeted enough money for only 200 flats during this fiscal year.

Several months ago, Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur and Housing Minister David Levy initiated a meeting with several Jewish Agency leaders, including some of the heads of the Diaspora fund-raising bodies, where they asked the agency to pay half of the NIS75 million needed this year for housing.

But the agency leaders were surprised and puzzled at this proposal, since they had been led to believe several years ago that the government would take responsibility for permanent housing for the Ethiopians. No decision was taken at this meeting, nor is it clear when a decision either rejecting or accepting this proposal will be made.

Thus it seems that the Ethiopians still in "temporary" housing will face several more years of deteriorating morale and living conditions.

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...To proclaim the year of the Lord's good pleasure, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn...
Isaiah, from Chapter 61 to be taken in connection with the jubilee reference in Leviticus, Chapter 25

"Or canst thou guide the Bear with her sons?" Job, from Chapter 38

...And his arrow shall go forth as the lightning.
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'How will I be able to walk barefoot with a false leg?'

Pain behind the statistics

Bernard Josephs

IT IS A WEEK since the crash and teenager Zohar Regev's agony has only just begun. Lying amid the high technology of the intensive care unit, she is battling the pain, struggling to come to terms with a future that, once so bright, is now dominated by her injuries.

Her parents, red-eyed with weariness, pace the nearby waiting room where they have set up camp since their daughter was brought to Shaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem with legs so badly mangled that the right one had to be amputated.

From time to time they are comforted by relatives and by friends who have travelled down from the Galilee kibbutz of Kfar Hahorsh where Zohar was born and raised. But most of the day they are by their daughter's bed, urging her to eat so that she can gain the strength to fight the infections that inevitably infest her wounds.

Their pain is as tangible as Zohar's. It reflects the true picture of what is happening on our roads. If the casualty figures are shocking, they are nothing compared with the shattered bodies, destroyed hopes and anguish that lay behind them.

The Regev family is anxious to preserve their dignity. "Don't make us look pitiful," said Zohar's mother, Hanna. But they want to lay it on the line. They want people to know just how devastating the slaughter on the roads can be, not just for the victims but for those close to them.

ZOHAR, 17, THE oldest of the Regev's three children, was injured last week when an Egged bus skidded on a patch of wet road and smashed into parked vehicles close to The Jerusalem Post office in Yermiyahu Street in Jerusalem. A five-year-old girl and a 20-year-old soldier were killed in the accident.

Zohar's life was saved by two passengers who applied tourniquets to her legs.

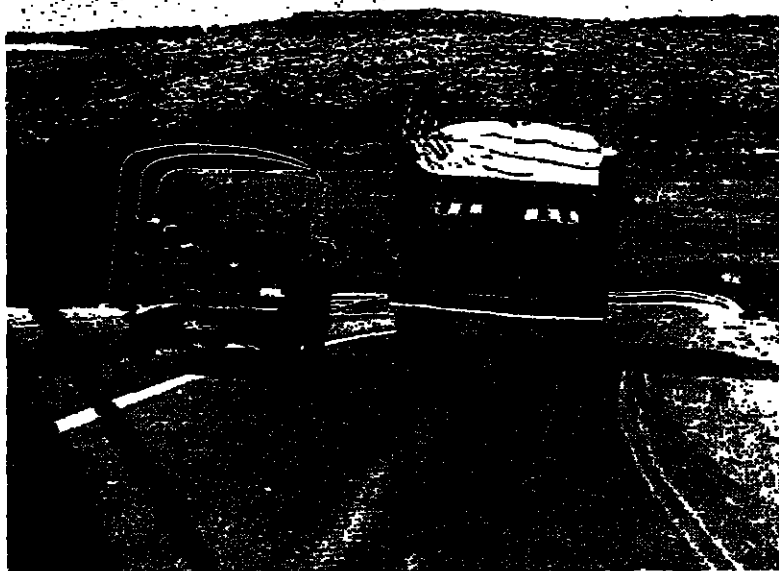
"If they hadn't acted so quickly, she would have died from loss of blood," said her father, Shlomi. But despite all their efforts and hours on the operating table, doctors were only able to save her left leg.

Now she is fighting to recover and to accept the fact that for her, life will never be the same.

"She is a strong, independent girl with courage and spirit. But she is in such pain," said Hanna. "You know how it is. At the age of 17, you are worried about how you look. She knows she has lost her leg and she is so worried about what will be."

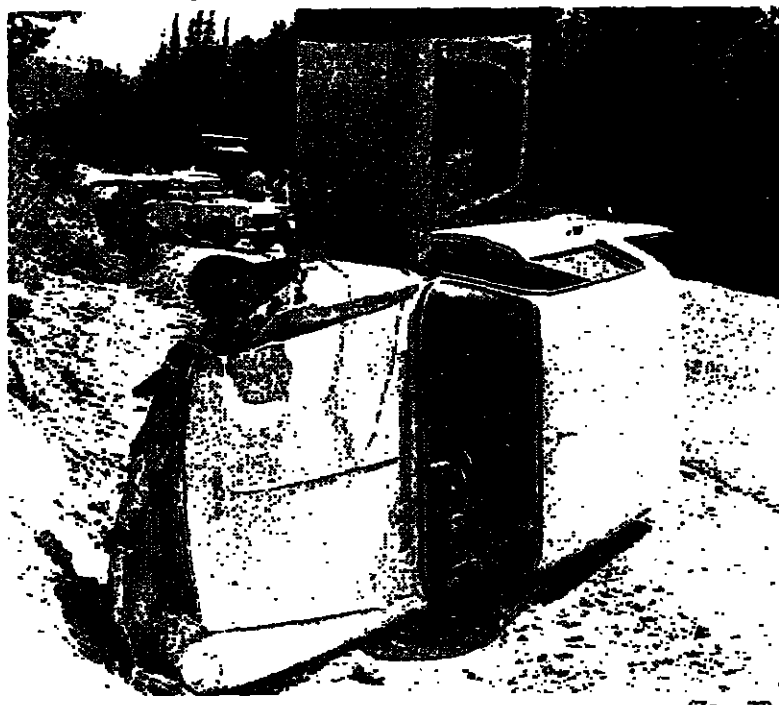
"On the kibbutz she loved to walk barefoot and to work in the bakery where she was always running from place to place and climbing ladders. The first thing she asked me was, 'How will I be able to walk barefoot with a false leg? How will I climb the ladders in the bakery?'"

Her daughter is anxious to see her friends and some of them were due to visit her this week, said Hanna. But, she continued, "She is scared to see them. A friend of ours who has had a leg amputated spoke to her for hours. He told her that she



Dangerous driving can have disastrous results.

(Mazda Yarb)



(Zoom 77)

will be able to walk again with a false leg, but that there is a hard road ahead.

"She will have so many things to overcome. The first meeting with friends. The first step outdoors. The first time she goes to the beach. All I can think is thank God she is alive."

Zohar was on her way home after spending her first week as a volunteer youth leader when the accident happened. She was helping to run a Jerusalem group of Hanoar Ha-

loved V'haoved as part of the kibbutz movement's year of service scheme, prior to going into the army.

"She phoned us and said she was coming home because our local draft board wanted to see her," said her mother, a school teacher. "She didn't try to hitch hike or anything like that. She did the safest, most sensible thing. She bought a ticket and got on a bus. She doesn't remember much about the accident. She just says to me, 'It isn't fair.'"

"What can I tell her? Is it fair? She just wanted to work in the youth movement, and this is how it ended up."

Zohar's parents said they despair of the situation on the roads. Perhaps, they thought, by agreeing to be interviewed, they might achieve something. "Maybe someone who reads about what has happened to us will think twice before doing something stupid," said her father.

He continued, "People just don't realize what a serious injury or a death on the roads can mean. It is not just the victim who is hurt. The victim's family, friends and all the people around them have their lives disrupted. On our kibbutz people are so sad that they are hardly able to function."

"I WOULD SAY to drivers, please, please realize that lives are in your hands. You have to take one hundred per cent responsibility for what you do. It is no good saying the roads are bad, or the lights are bad, or some other driver is at fault. As the father of a child who has been so badly injured, I don't care who is at fault. I only know that things like this should not happen. There is never an accident that cannot be avoided."

Shlomi said he feared that the car has become such a status symbol that it is actually valued above human life.

"The status of a society seems to be judged by how many motor vehicles it has. In a country like ours, where the roads are so overcrowded it is a disaster. Maybe the importing of cars should be banned. Certainly something drastic has to be done."

The Regev family was full of praise for the medical staff at Shaare Zedek. The doctors were frank with them from the start and explained everything. Zohar's condition is still very serious and on Wednesday she remained in the intensive care unit, where she is lying near a young soldier, also injured in the bus crash.

"The main problem is the infection in her wounds. She has a very high temperature and the doctors say she must eat to keep up her strength. Her body is burning thousands of calories a day fighting the infections but she doesn't want to eat," said her mother.

However, Zohar found the strength to agree to the publication of this story. "We would not have allowed it otherwise," said Hanna.

Praise for the hospital, however, contrasted sharply with the couple's feelings about Egged. "We are very angry about their attitude," said Hanna. "We have heard nothing from them, not a word. It is as if as far as they are concerned nothing happened."

An Egged spokesman replied: "People who are involved in this kind of accident go into a trauma and expect all kinds of things that we just cannot do. I understand their anger and if there is anything we can do we will be happy to do it. Any material help, however, must be a matter of insurance."



Justified road improvements save money and lives.

Political roadblocks

Avi Temkin

The problem is that it must bow to all kind of pressures and to non-economical criteria when it comes to development schemes.

For example, some months ago the Housing Ministry finished building the Kfar Kassem bypass road, at a cost of NIS20 million. Government officials say there was no economic justification for such an expenditure. The money could have gone to more worthy causes. Improving the above-mentioned Beit Lid - Hadera road, now defined as an accident prone or "red" road, would require half of the sum spent on the Kfar Kassem bypass.

But this argument did not convince Housing Minister David Levy. He wanted a road that would lead to Ariel, and other West Bank settlements. Such a road would enhance his standing within Herzl, and that was a sufficient justification for him to put the money into that project.

The Housing Ministry is now busy constructing the Beit Horon bypass, another "political highway." The cost will be NIS11 million, out of which NIS2 million has already been spent. Building additional lanes on the Geha Road, or speeding up the completion of the Ayalon project will have to wait.

The situation is no better in the case of the interchanges. Work on the Kfar Hayarok interchange is being delayed due to a dispute with the Ramat Hasharon local authority. But behind the scenes, economic interests are at work. For the project to get started, the classification of the land at the site must be changed. The land is now designated as agricultural, and this prevents the project from getting started. But changing the classification is not only a complicated and lengthy bureaucratic process, but involves overcoming the opposition of land owners, who hope to get much higher compensation by putting up stiff opposition to the project.

The Beit Brak municipality has different reasons for opposing the building of the Givat Shmuel interchange. It wants Hashomer Street closed on Shabbat. The proposed

interchange would make its closure impossible, as one of the interchange's main exits would lead into that street, and drivers would use it every day of the week. The project is needed so badly that the issue has been brought to the attention of the cabinet, but so far to no avail.

The money needed for building these two projects, as well as the Aluf Sade junction interchange, has been allocated long ago. But the money continues to be used for less urgent projects. The interchanges are still in the planning stages, and lives and money are being wasted.

ANOTHER example of misallocation of funds is the money accumulated by the Ports Authority. For many years the authority has been overcharging those using port services. It wanted to build up reserves to build new ports; although several studies have shown that such projects are unnecessary. By the beginning of this year, the authority had accumulated some NIS500-million. The cabinet decided that NIS18 million would be transferred to the development of roads.

Increasing funds for profitable ventures like road development would seem wise. But apparently Transport Minister Haim Corfu, who has jurisdiction over the ports, has other ideas. Some months ago, the cabinet decided to merge the Ports Authority with Israel Railways. The intention is to use authority money to finance railway projects.

So far Corfu has announced plans for three railway projects - a train to Eilat, a Tel Aviv - Jerusalem fast train and a line connecting Tel Aviv with its suburbs. According to calculations, the Eilat project has a relatively low rate of return. The other two projects have not been examined. The problem is that elections are only a year away, and Corfu may feel that the railway projects would not hurt his and his party's electoral prospects. Thus, the transport minister wants to go ahead with them, with or without a proper economic examination.

Thus, to say that the problem is lack of funds is to oversimplify the issue. Judging from the evidence, the problem is the way such funds are being allocated.



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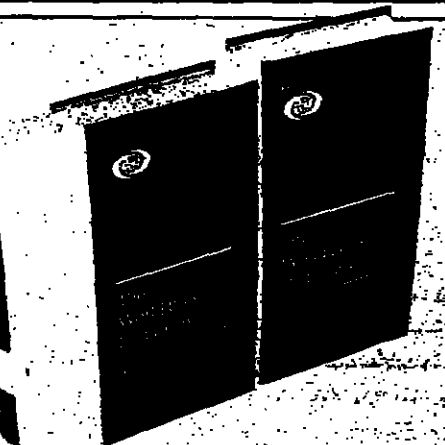
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Prime Minister Shamir's sacking of his adviser on women's affairs, Dr. Nitza Shapira-Liba'i, brought that post back into the news. 'The Jerusalem Post's' Sarah Honig reviews the position of women in politics.

A woman's place

TEL AVIV. — The late Beba Idelson, one of those now-legendary Second Aliya luminaries, once described to me how and why Mo'etzet Hapo'lot, which she headed for so many years (now going under the more with-it name Na'amat) ever came into being. Her explanation was surprisingly candid.

"Look here, young girl," she lectured, "don't you for one little minute believe all those fairy tales they spin about the equality accorded women in the good old bad days of Second Aliya pioneering and hardship. Did they ever want us out in the fields or on road construction sites? No! If we managed to get there, it was because some of us women pushed ourselves there in spite of the men. They wanted us where men always wanted women — in the kitchen, making things as comfortable as possible for them, so they could glory in being pioneers. Yes, there was discrimination even then," she recalled.

"It was because there was no equality that there had to be Mo'etzet Hapo'lot and the men actually liked nothing better than a separate framework to keep those 'middle-some women' from bothering them when they had real important issues to tackle. Those few women who got anywhere in political life did so because they would not stay out of the way in the separate women's section — like Golda, for example," she added wistfully, as an afterthought.

"But the general idea was to keep women out of the way, busy, and satisfied."

That hallowed tradition of our venerable socialist founding fathers seems to be the only one they bequeathed us which is still thriving.

"It's easy to ignore the fact that the prime minister has a special adviser on women's affairs, a post no doubt created in the 'pioneering spirit which Beba Idelson painted in such vivid colours. It's easy to ignore it because, for one thing, its impact is, to say the least, not a major force in our daily life. Even the insult its existence implies for some women is easily swallowed, considering how little is ever heard from that office."

Well, last week that well-concealed office finally made a newsworthy note.

The prime minister, having taken a breather from more earth-shattering "men's issues," like the Lavi (the one woman who has a role in the matter, the weeping Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino, may have provided ammunition to all those who still argue privately that women are unfit to deal with "important" issues), has decided to sack his adviser on women's affairs, Dr. Nitza Shapira-Liba'i, a Labour party member.

Shapira-Liba'i is a professor of comparative law and a human rights specialist, who made the legal status of women a course at Tel Aviv University's law school, where she teaches. She has been in the adviser job longer than any other woman. She was brought in by the late vice premier Yigael Yadin in 1980 to succeed Prof. Rivka Bar-Yosef who resigned in protest against restrictive amendments to the abortion law. Shapira-Liba'i has served since then, save for a one year break in 1983-84

when Sara Doron was minister in charge of women's affairs, with the attorney Etia Simha then filling the adviser slot. Shapira-Liba'i was reappointed to office when Labour's Shimon Peres became premier and hence is considered a Labour appointee.

Attorney Simha has been mentioned as a possible Likud nominee for the job. But the most likely appointee is considered Herut activist Rahel Kremerman.

Sources close to Shamir stress that he "has nothing personal against Shapira-Liba'i," and there is no reason he should have. She probably made a very minimal contribution, if at all, to his headache load. Mostly she stayed out of the way.

Neither did Shamir wake one morning to the realization that the job Shapira-Liba'i had been holding is superfluous and that he really has no earthly need for an adviser on women's affairs.

No, the reason Shapira-Liba'i has to go is just because her job, like others, has become part of the political spoils system and the time came for Shamir to keep some of the badly-discriminated-against women in Herut happy too. It's a way of giving some of those increasingly vociferous women a job to lower the annoying noise level.

As Shapira-Liba'i sees it, "The root of the problem is that the job is classified as that of adviser to the premier, which, given its terms of reference, it certainly is not. The real injustice here is that it had become another political football. If that is what the parties insist on, then I would recommend the establishment of an independent authority, not within the framework of the prime minister's office, for furthering women's interests."

She maintains that "the adviser status was almost accidental for lack of another definition for the role. But I surely do more than an adviser. I propose legislation, represent women's interests in various forums, deal with complaints of discrimination and seek to increase public awareness of discrimination. This is the job in which continuity is a must and they are about to do great damage by interrupting my work midway."

AMONG HER achievements Shapira-Liba'i lists income tax reform legislative proposals, progress towards equating male and female retirement ages, activity aimed at creating equal employment opportunities and equal pay for equal work, and advancing women in top government, public companies and local authority jobs. "A woman must now be on each tender committee in the public sector and we have introduced 'agents of change' to look after women's interests in every ministry."

She rejects outright the notion that her office is unnecessary or insulting to women. "Wiping your face when someone spits at you will solve nothing. Women are badly discriminated against and this has to be fought, which is what we are doing."

One of the founders of Israel's feminist movement, Esther Eilam, argues: "The feeling of being in-

sulted and patronized by the existence of an office such as Nitza's is experienced only by women who expect to be treated fairly by the establishment, which I, as a radical, don't."

She admits that Shapira-Liba'i's post is problematic in that "it could serve as a male alibi or fig-leaf." But as "a very good personal friend of Nitza's," she admits that she is not being objective.

She can, however, volunteer inside information. "I do know for a fact that Nitza agonized over this. I know the dilemma gave her plenty of sleepless nights. She took a route which I personally avoided. Women with feminist commitments who are willing to risk working within the establishment are torn from within. Her role could easily become part of the fig-leaf or of the 'yuppization' of feminism. Once the movement was seen as the domain of crazy women's libbers, but now it has gained respectability in progressive, educated, circles and is being adopted by the bourgeois, whose basic values have not really altered. Just as there are parlour communists, so there are parlour feminists," she notes.

Yet she justifies Nitza's position because this is the situation we live in. The problem is not the job but what you do with it. As long as the system exists — and the revolution hasn't yet occurred — then there is a place for creating some dynamism, limited though it might be, within the establishment."

She considers it unfair to ask if Nitza really catalyzed meaningful change. "She has heightened awareness."

The job came into being under then prime minister Menachem Begin, after he had been presented with a very thick volume in 1978 on the status of women, compiled by a committee appointed by his predecessor Yitzhak Rabin.

That committee was headed by Labour MK Ora Namir with Nitza Shapira-Liba'i one of its central members. Earlier last week, Namir cabled Shamir and asked him not to dismiss Shapira-Liba'i, arguing that this job ought not become a political pawn.

Nitza did her job, such as it is, extremely well, but it would be a mistake to blame her for the fact that she was not given much authority and that the position lacks teeth. The recommendation to create the post was not our most important one and maybe it is to some degree an insult to some women. But wouldn't a separate ministry, as exists in some countries, be worse? We avoided that degree of segregation. "Let's put it this way: an advisory position is not ideal, but it's better than nothing," insists Namir.

"Look, quotas for women in party politics are insulting too, but our situation would be catastrophic without them. The young men in Labour, I find, are more difficult in this respect than the older generation was. Perhaps it's military service that has made them macho, but women's political representation, as far as they are concerned, is a subject for cynical smiles and jest."

NAMIR DETECTS regression in the status of women in Israel in the

years since her committee submitted its report. Perhaps only in the judicial system do we see more women, possibly because men choose to stay and make money in private legal practice. But how many women ambassadors do we have, or university rectors, hospital directors or mayors?

"There are fewer women in politics than there were a decade ago. Managing a career and a family leaves hardly any room for public life for women. Politics is where things are decided and this is the sphere in which women are rarest."

Rahel Kremerman is in politics, but she was not in the country when her name was mentioned as a candidate to succeed Shapira-Liba'i. A good friend of hers, though, fellow Herut activist Limor Livnat, considers Kremerman a perfect choice for the job.

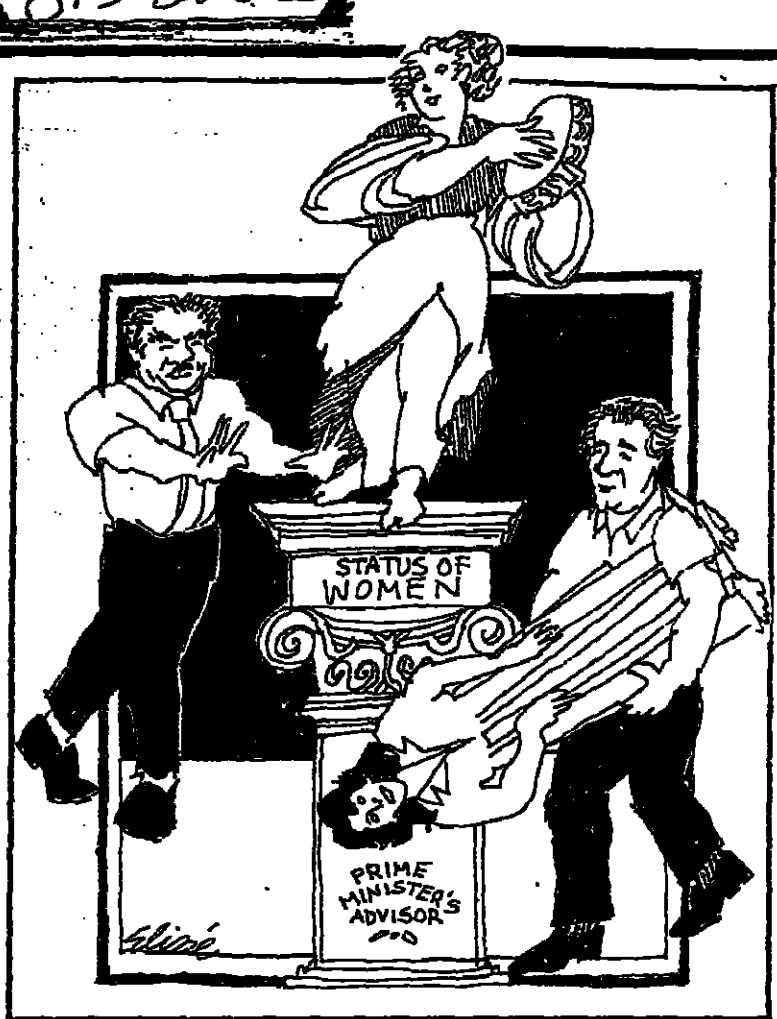
While Livnat would, perhaps, not class herself as a feminist, in her day-to-day political activity she, too, is a powerful contender on male turf. Lately the fiery Livnat and Kremerman have been waging an aggressive campaign to increase the proportion of women elected to party office in Herut. Their drive was cut short by the failure of the party to elect any of its executive bodies after the convention last March.

Kremerman, a daughter of Ya'acov Meridor and widow of the late Herut MK Yosef Kremerman, has been active in the field of women's rights for years. She is a member of the 120-women council which works with Shapira-Liba'i. She also heads the Women Members Department in Herut, which unlike the Herut Women's Organization (headed by MK Miriam Glazer-Ta'asa) deals with politics in the central male-dominated area and not in social work and the like to which women are traditionally relegated. "Rahel and I want to compete with the men," she explains, stressing that she is far removed from what Beba Idelson would have called "separate frameworks."

"But that is not to say that women are not discriminated against. It may be that we successful career women feel it less, but no man will do for women what they will not do for themselves. It's better to have an adviser than not to have one at all. If we can advance our interests in a separate framework, I would not oppose it. It's not pleasant, but the fact is that though we are over half the nation, we are a deprived minority. I wouldn't care whether the adviser is male or female, so long as the job is done. I wouldn't mind a women's affairs minister, like Sara Doron," she maintains.

That of course is precisely what Beba Idelson warned against: "These separate frameworks for women's section in the synagogue — a place for second-class members of the congregation. Women who stay in political 'women's sections' are women who settle for a little prestige, but without any real prospects of success."

She spoke from personal experience when she admitted, a little sadly, that "women have no one to blame but themselves for playing along and retreating from the central arena."



Jerusalem's battles over the status quo

Andy Court

LONG BEFORE there was a Cinematheque or Beit Agron Cinema in Jerusalem to show movies on Shabbat, a barber named Briska snipped his way through the status quo.

As Rabbi Shlomo Zalman Sonnenfeld tells it, the Jewish barber had lots of Friday customers during British Mandatory times and not enough hands to finish all the heads before the day of rest officially began. And so he kept clipping after the sun had set — until Sonnenfeld's great grandfather, the Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, learned about it.

With the coming of Shabbat, Yosef Haim Sonnenfeld would set up a chair beside the entrance to the barber's shop, greeting each incoming customer with an accusatory, "Shabbat shalom." That proved sufficient to shut the shop down, the contemporary Sonnenfeld said. Thus ended one of the first chapters in the struggle over the sanctity of Shabbat in Jerusalem.

The latest chapter of that struggle will be written this weekend when ultra-Orthodox Jews are expected to take their protest to the streets once again. The days when a respected rabbi in a strategically placed bridge chair could set things right are clearly long past.

Significant portions of the city's secular and religious populations have in recent weeks become more entrenched and embittered — the secularists pointing to the bottles and stones that have been thrown at cars by Shabbat demonstrators, the religious pointing to what they say is blatant police brutality against them and biased media coverage that exaggerated the amount of stone throwing.

The hard feelings pop up at the most unexpected moments. At a wedding held in a Jerusalem hall about one week ago, the hosts showed a videotape of police breaking up a recent Shabbat demonstration, intentionally breaking up the celebratory mood, according to a leading rabbi in the ultra-Orthodox community. A city official, talking late one night about the conflict with the ultra-Orthodox, said, "If it were not for my position, because of which I feel a certain degree of responsibility, I would be among the first to go into the streets and beat them."

THE FRICTION over Shabbat began even before the state was established. One of the first major conflicts in Mandatory times concerned Shabbat soccer games played by Hapoel on a lot that is now part of the cemetery in Sanhedria, Sonnenfeld said.

In 1949, the first "cinema riots" occurred. A group of ultra-Orthodox protesters clashed with police and theatre goers at the Edison and Eden theatres. The protesters objected to the theatres opening their box offices and starting their early shows before the end of Shabbat. In the course of the demonstration, the iron door of the Edison's box office was reportedly ripped out, persons waiting on line to buy tickets were attacked by ultra-Orthodox, and the latter were beaten by police.

Of all the incidents that have occurred since then, perhaps none has been as sobering as the death of



An impromptu mask against tear gas. (Rahamim Israeli)

Pinchas Segalov, a watch repairman who died after police beat him and other protesters during a protest in 1956. Sunday is the anniversary of Segalov's death, according to the Hebrew calendar.

The demonstration in which Segalov was killed had nothing to do with movies. Thousands of ultra-Orthodox had come to the then-open area near the old Shaare Zedek hospital to protest against buses transporting Jerusalemites to the shore near Tel Aviv on Shabbat.

"They didn't tell me what happened at first," said Shmuel Segal, Segalov's son, who was in his twenties and studying at a yeshiva near Lod at the time. "A police van came to pick me up and took me to Jerusalem, to the hospital. I was in shock. And then there was all the political business surrounding it. All sorts of parties were trying to use my father's death for their own purposes."

"My father was a very quiet Jew," Segal continued. "On Shabbat, he would be in synagogue. But if everyone went out to protest, he would protest too."

Segal is now 54 and lives in Kfar Habad, near Lod. He views the conflict in Jerusalem — and the demonstrations not so different from the one in which his father was killed — as a sign of "the continuation of the Diaspora existence" in which Jews have lived for thousands of years.

"This is not what the Rambam waited for — a state that today is like England or France. It's a disgrace that the law here is not according to the Torah."

But he does not believe that protests are necessarily the way to change things, since a show of force on one side leads to force on the other side as well.

He believes instead in educational efforts and individual contacts, to persuade non-believers "with love and respect."

"There is no such thing as religious and secular Jews," Segal said. "Where is the borderline? We're all Jews. We each keep the laws and traditions in our own way. There's one people — that's what there is."

IN THE ultra-Orthodox communities of Jerusalem, Pinchas Segalov has become a martyr. "Murderers of Segalov," ultra-Orthodox children have been known to shout at police during demonstrations. But for Uzi

Ornan, secretary of the League Against Religious Coercion in the 1950's, Segalov's tragic death demonstrates a disturbing point about the nature of ultra-Orthodox demonstrations.

"They have to continue to shout and protest and throw stones until blood is spilled," Ornan contends. "If blood is spilled, they can go home and say, 'We've done our mitzva. We've done all that we could do.' It sounds cynical and terrible, but it's the truth."

In the 1950's, Ornan spent his Saturday mornings patrolling Jaffa Road with other secular citizens in order to prevent ultra-Orthodox Jews from blocking the street to traffic. He does not believe that very much has changed since then, except that Mayor Teddy Kollek, seeking to accommodate the ultra-Orthodox in their own neighborhoods, allowed a number of roads to be closed.

Ornan thinks that this was a serious mistake, which encouraged an ultra-Orthodox attitude of "what's mine is mine, and what's yours is mine."

Has anything changed at all since the cinema riots of 1949 or the death of Pinchas Segalov?

Many people who lived through the period or studied its history say "fundamentally, no." But what has certainly changed over the years is the size of the ultra-Orthodox community and the extent of its influence on national politics.

What may very well have changed as well is the way that the secular and ultra-religious people perceive themselves, said Tom Segev, author of 1949: The First Israelis and co-editor of Koferet Rashit.

"Secular people feel today what the ultra-Orthodox felt once — that they are a persecuted minority," Segev said. "But it's only in Jerusalem, it's not a national phenomenon."

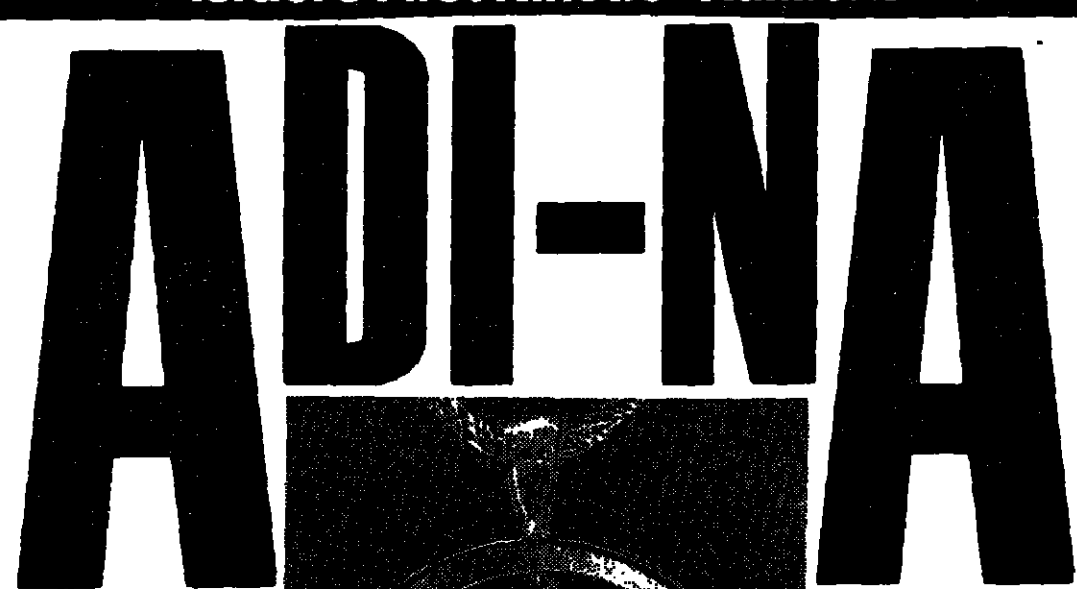
The surprising number of secular people who turned out for movies and demonstrations in front of Beit Agron indicate a political awakening among people who previously would have been satisfied to travel to Tel Aviv for nightlife, Segev said. The sense of "seige" has perhaps mobilized them into action.

People familiar with the seasonal nature of the secular-religious flare-ups believe that the tensions will somehow subside after the Jewish holidays. But it is far from clear how that will happen.

The secular activists and cinema managers say that they will start showing Shabbat movies immediately after the weekends of Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. The first hearing on the municipality's suit against the Beit Agron and Orna theatres will take place only on October 18, and Kollek has said that there is no way to stop the cinemas from showing movies before a court order is issued. The ultra-Orthodox leaders say that they will not give up until the movie-screenings stop.

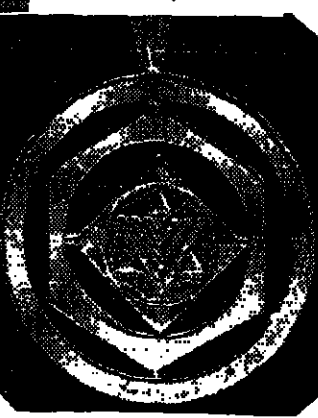
But even if the cinema issue is somehow settled, temporarily at least, some new affair will no doubt arise in its wake. The barber who stayed open after Shabbat began — and the chief rabbi who sat outside his shop — had no idea what a long, bitter row lay in store for their grandchildren.

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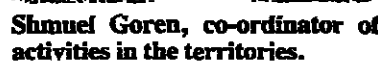
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Conflict over how to deal with the Palestinians led to the resignation of civil administration chief Ephraim Sneh. Joel Greenberg considers the issue.

The growing pattern of grassroot unrest has on various occasions elicited explanations from both officers in the field as well as top officials in the Defence Ministry, who have

During the waves of protest which swept the territories over the past year, this explanation was trotted out repeatedly. It was said that the unrest was stirred up by the PLO in response to (fill in the blank): the camps war in Lebanon, a hunger strike by Palestinian security prisoners, the killing of Palestinian dem-

In fairness it should be said that the explanations offered by the defence establishment, while off the mark, were not entirely without basis. There were activists urging

Outgoing head of the Judea and Samaria civil administration Ephraim Sneh, photographed in 1985 with the late mayor of Nablus Zafer al-Masri. (Dany Landau)

This approach did not go down well with Sneh, whose impossible job it was to tend to the interests of the Palestinian population while protecting overriding Israeli interests, as determined by the defence establishment. Sneh preferred to level with the Palestinians rather than manipulate them or go over their heads. For this he was widely appreciated in the Palestinian community, but he inevitably collided with Goren on the issue of the Herodion water-drilling project. The planning of the scheme behind the backs of the Palestinians, in cavalier disregard of its political implications, epitomized the elements of defence ministry policy Sneh could not stomach.

IT WAS rare that a defence official would make the painful admission that at the root of the unrest was a problem whose solution was more difficult than expelling this or that activist. Such an admission was made several months ago by the outgoing head of the Judea and Samaria Civil Administration, Brigadier General Ephraim Sneh who, when questioned about a wave of protests, did not echo the theories of other officials about external causes, but said simply that the trouble was caused by the mounting despair of the population. Sneh appeared be-

In the end, Sneh could not live with the conspiratorial-manipulative approach to the people and problems of the West Bank. But the trust he built with the Palestinians with whom he worked, and the tangible improvement in services under his administration, speak volumes for the alternative he represented.

And no wonder. A visit by the secretary of state could be really productive, hence from Shamir's point of view, it was better if Shultz

But one should not over-estimate Ceaucescu's role. He did not, and could not, play a major part once the negotiating process had started. That part was played by U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his adminis-

Beyond that general observation the situation in 1987 is different from that in 1977 from two main points of view.

President Ceaucescu and his government have a real interest in creating the impression that, under Romanian auspices, something constructive is in progress between Israel and the Arabs. Hence the maneuver is considered more important than its real content.

Former prime minister Menachem Begin with Romanian president Ceausescu.

peace with Romania. We already have it. Israel has good relations with Romania and is always ready to


First of all, it proves that there is no substitute for international preparatory work before direct negotiations are possible. In the long run, it will not be possible to accept the idea of international preparatory work and the same time absolutely and unconditionally reject the opening of direct negotiations by an international conference.

Apart from hope and prayer, something should be done. Prime Minister Shamir said Foreign Minister Peres "had no mandate" to lead to an international conference. But it is the duty of the government to leave no stones unturned in an active, dynamic search for peace. Peres has the right, nay, the obligation, to do his utmost, to find a breakthrough, and that cannot be achieved without accepting the international conference.

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The Torah portion for this week is Nitzvim - Vayelech (Deuteronomy 29-31:30).

IN ORDER to secure continuity and a peaceful transition of leadership, and to avoid a power struggle, Moses, following the advice of the Lord, chose Joshua as his successor. He presented Joshua in a public ceremony to the priesthood and the entire congregation, and laid both hands on him (Numbers 27:15-23). Yet the difficult moment of the actual passing and transfer of power was still to come.

How would Moses feel and act at that moment? How would the people react? After more than 40 years with Moses, sharing with him so many memorable occasions of exultation, trial, tribulation, would it now be possible for them to accept his young assistant as their new leader? And Joshua himself, having been accustomed for many years to being second- or even third- (after the highpriest) in command, would he be ready to step out from behind the curtain into the full limelight of the leading position? Would he be read to assume full control at this crucial moment in the life of his people, as they were about to reach their destination? Would he not be awed by the tremendous responsibility inherent in assuming a command upon which would rest the fate of both the future and the past of his people, and in a way the destiny of the world? If he failed, everything - all the achievements of Israel up to that point, the Exodus, the revelation at Sinai, the shaping of the nation - all these would be undone.

It is one thing to reach a theoretical understanding of filling the office of his great and revered master, but the actual takeover which was now at hand was an altogether different challenge.

"AND MOSES WENT" and spoke these words unto all Israel. And he said unto them: 'I am a hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more go out and come in; and the Lord said unto me: Thou shalt not go over Jordan. The Lord thy God, He will go over before thee.' (Deuteronomy 31:1-3).

As Moses assured his people that he would leave them in the good care of both God and Joshua, we are told: "And Moses went and spoke." Where did he go? Scripture leaves this open and does not tell us where he went. The commentators fill us in on this.

Dr. A. Cohen in his notes to the

TORA TODAY

Pinchas H. Peli

The leader who stayed behind

Soncho Chumash following the commentaries of Ibn Ezra, Nahmanides and Sforno, writes: "After concluding his exhortation to the whole assembly which then dispersed, Moses went from tribe to tribe, to announce his approaching end, to comfort the people and encourage them to put their trust in his successor."

At this point in his life Moses did not call the people to come to him and to receive his message as he had been accustomed to doing, nor did he address himself to the whole congregation in general. He paid individual visits to each of them. Being intimately involved with his people over such a long period, he felt that his farewell from them required more than a public manifestation. In visiting each one, old shared memories surfaced and heart-to-heart dialogue ensued. It was heart-warming and reassuring for the people to be honoured with a personal visit by the "old man" himself. It certainly was not an easy chore for the aged Moses, but he must have considered it nevertheless worth the effort. Even in his last days, the kind and caring leader did not spare himself when the well-being of his flock

was at stake.

Other commentators explain the phrase "And Moses went" to convey the simple fact that Moses actually moved around in his usual manner of walking. This is mentioned in order to underscore his statement which follows: "I can no more go out and come in." In spite of his 120 years, "Moses went" to show that he was indeed able to walk as swiftly and briskly as before. He wished to tell them that he was not retiring because of failing health due to old age, but that he could no longer "go out and come in" only because the Lord had said to him: "Thou shalt not go over the Jordan." As he complied with the wishes of the Lord, so must they. They must rest assured now that the Lord would be with them and with Joshua, their newly-appointed leader.

A LESS KIND comment on the phrase "And Moses went" suggests that as soon as the people realized that Moses was indeed retiring, they ceased coming to him, so that in order to deliver his message he had to go and seek them out. Such is the way people treat their leaders as soon as they are out, or about to be

out, of office. All those who had followed Moses as long as he was on top suddenly disappeared. Now they were probably busy trying to make connections with the incoming administration and had no time left to go and visit with Moses. Although he was about to leave office, he certainly had a thing or two to tell them, but they were not there to listen to him. Now he had to go and look for them.

Moses's message to the people and to Joshua consists of two parts. First, he reassured them that no leader is indispensable, especially in view of the fact that it was not he personally that deserved the credit for all the great and good things that happened to them, but the Almighty God who would continue to be with them. At the same time, he wished to bring to their attention that it is not enough to rely on God alone to bring them to the Land. They cannot lean back passively and wait for God to conquer the Land for them. They must "be strong and of good courage."

This exhortation to "be strong and of good courage" is repeated several times, both here (31:6-7) and in the book of Joshua (1:6-7, 18). It seemed to have become the slogan of the entire campaign for the conquest of the Land.

To inherit the Land of Israel one cannot merely rely on God, but one must possess two other qualities. First, to be strong; and second, to be of good courage. One without the other would not do. The might of the army, a large quantity of weapons, even the high sophistication of tanks and warplanes would not perform the job, if along with them there were not courage and the deep motivation of each and every commander and soldier. On the other hand, motivation and courage by themselves would not do the job either without a strong, well-equipped and well-trained army.

To this day, this remains the central idea and ideal of *Zahal*, the Israel Defence Forces. The Israeli soldier is usually sworn in at a special solemn ceremony which takes place at a site selected for its historical associations. The Western Wall in Jerusalem and the top of Masada are two such locales. At the ceremony, which takes place in the presence of the members of the families and friends of the new soldiers, every recruit is called up by name and presented with a gun and a Bible. One is for "strength," and the other for "good courage."

Rabbi Peli is professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.



"Be strong and of good courage." An IDF swearing-in ceremony at the Western Wall. (Rahamim Israel)

With malice towards the IPO

TELEREVIEW/Philip Gillon

I HAVE no idea who or what inspired Michael Karpis and Freddie Gruber to perform a hatchet job on the IPO in this week's *Second Look*, but they certainly managed to produce one of the most dishonest and malicious programmes I have ever seen. Perhaps they had been influenced by a malcontent in the orchestra, or had been brainwashed by Dr. Hachshon Ron, the critic to whom they gave so much opportunity to attack Zubin Mehta. Or perhaps they were simply fascinated by the idea of throwing mud all over one of the nation's most cherished institutions.

The tradition that Israel is a land that eats her sons was apparently extended by Karpis, Gruber and Ron to apply to an adopted son as well.

Their programme was a perfect example of how television can be manipulated to put across a one-sided, vicious point of view.

The bias was evident even before the programme started - it was evident in the title, "Alien Musician." This could mean that the theme was how the IPO had departed from its national roots. But the IPO now has a permanent conductor, Zubin Mehta, who is an Indian, so the title clearly was a double entendre, with sinister, racist implications. The intention obviously was to incite the national resentment of patriots against this foreign intruder, and we all know how easy it is to stir patriotic chauvinism in many Israelis.

Other tricks used were as old as Pavlov's experiments aimed at getting dogs to salivate by conditioning their reflexes. In his opening statement, Karpis threw in a gratuitous remark that the IPO was supported by Ernest Japhet and David Blass. Bingo! All Israeli loathe and resent those bloated plutocrats so much that our detestation must spread to anything they liked, whether it be music, football, wine, women or song.

He used a similar trick in his closing statement. First he mentioned that the photographer was Danny Barnea, and added, as an afterthought, that the same man had done last week's photography of the orchestra in Auschwitz. I assume that he threw this in because he had forgotten to pay tribute to Barnea.

But he went on to add, with a very

loaded look at the millions of Jews in television land, that our own orchestra was playing at that very moment in Berlin. Do you get the guilt-by-association hocus-pocus? The innuendo was clearly that the IPO was giving its hand of friendship to the Germans, and its retrospective blessing to the monsters of Auschwitz who created that heartbreaking orchestra.

The real target of the attack was not the IPO as a whole, but Mehta. We were shown frequent long shots of a man in an expensive sweatshirt jogging along the beach and in the classier streets of Tel Aviv, without talking to anyone. I assume that this was Mehta, although we could not see his face - apparently the shots were taken with a telescopic lens. The aim of this frequently repeated visual image, I imagine, was to convey an impression of an aristocratic loner, jogging while the orchestra was in ferment, like Nero fiddling while Rome burned.

We saw many other shots of Mehta in various situations, taken from old film clips. But he was never interviewed at any length - in fact, only one question was put to him.

After hearing Ron say that Mehta's birthday present to the IPO would be to resign, Gruber mentioned this to Mehta, and asked him whether he was prepared to oblige. Mehta thought about it, then answered simply, "If my orchestra wants me to resign, I'll resign."

Enormous segments of the programme were allocated to Ron's comparison of the vision of Huberman for the orchestra and the realities of today. Ron said that Huberman had wanted a classical orchestra for a nation of workers, performing all over the country at very popular prices. There were many supporting shots of the orchestra playing under all kinds of physical conditions to workers and soldiers. Then, by contrast, we saw women in \$1,000 gowns at the 50th anniversary celebration, with tickets costing \$500 each, and the entertainment taking place in a tent reminiscent, according to Gruber, of the Arabian nights.

I am as displeased as anyone with the kind of Israeli society that we have created instead of the simple, socialist paradise of which we dreamed. But to blame the falling of the shadow between the dream and the fulfilment on Mehta is as idiotic as it is spiteful.

I CANNOT remember when I last received so many positive endorsements of the views I express in this column as I did in respect to my complaint that I did not understand last week's episode of *Miami Vice*. Many of these supporters - some of them, incidentally, Americans - said that they thought that there was something wrong with them, and had kept very silent about their lack of comprehension. So they were thrilled to find me in the same boat...

I received one critical letter, from the chairman of the Society for the Protection of Personal Rights on Behalf of Homosexuals, Lesbians and Bisexuals, which explained that the cops wanted the guns off the streets and the agency wanted the gun-runner.

The chairman criticizes me in his letter for what he calls the "glib manner" in which I approached the problem of the homosexual betrayed by his friends. He wrote: "Perhaps in this light you will understand why gays who have finally come to terms with their identities get upset when supposedly enlightened people - such as TV reviewers - belittle the seriousness of the problems of living gay in an antagonistic, straight society, rather than comment on how sensitive a programme's portrayal of this problem is..."

If I hurt anyone's feelings by being glib or flippant I apologize. But, surely, if the homosexuals want equality, they must accept laughter as well as sympathy.

On the subject of my needing explanations, will anyone who saw the film *Reds* please explain where John Reed was running, after the train in which he was travelling was ambushed by the White Russians? He got up and ran and ran and ran, apparently in pursuit of a cart car-



Zubin Mehta (Andre Brummann)

rying a small cannon, or maybe he was running to Moscow. Please elucidate.

I HAD looked forward with considerable anticipation to "Shalom Jerusalem - Hello Cologne," the dialogue between Israeli and German youths of Wednesday evening. Perhaps my expectations had been too high, for I found the show something of a disappointment.

In the first place there were technical mishaps. I realize that the technical problems were manifold, but we tend to take for granted that breakdowns won't occur, just as we assume that aeroplanes will take us safely to our destinations.

Then I found the views expressed by the participants somewhat trite, relying heavily on stereotypes. They were all very attractive, both in looks and manner - not as young as I had expected, in their late teens or early twenties - but none of them had anything new to say. The discussion might have taken place 20 years ago. The Israelis, obviously starting from a creditor position in the debate, were snug and patronising, while the Germans accepted that they had to be entirely on the defensive.

Perhaps, if the experiment is repeated, more time will be given to the attitudes of young people in both countries to problems of racism and the denial of human rights, and how the youth of today is behaving with regard to these issues.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

SHABBAT
Jerusalem: 5:45 a.m. to 6:17 p.m.
Tel Aviv: 5:23 p.m. to 6:19 p.m.
Haifa: 5:16 p.m. to 6:18 p.m.
Beersheba: 5:21 p.m. to 6:18 p.m.
Eilat: 5:26 p.m. to 6:18 p.m.
Torah Portions: Nitzvim/Vayelech

JERUSALEM

YERUSHALAYIM CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Fr.-M. 5:30 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8, Mincha 1:15, 5:05, Ma'ariv, 7:25. Cantor: Asher Haimovitz.

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Fr.-M. 5:30 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8, Mincha 1:15, 5:05, Ma'ariv, 7:25. Cantor: Asher Haimovitz. Synagogue Choir, conducted by El Jaffe. Shabbat 8:00, Mincha 5:30, Shabbat 8:00, 9:00 p.m. Daily, and during the 10 days of penitence at 5:45 and 6:30 a.m. Tue. 10 p.m. Wed. 5:30 a.m.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, 4 Agon, Friday, Mincha 5:25, Shabbat, Shabbat 8:00, 9:00 p.m. Daily, and during the 10 days of penitence at 5:45 and 6:30 a.m. Tue. 10 p.m. Wed. 5:30 a.m.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King David St. 9:51 a.m. Information on college programmes; graded tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.

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TEL AVIV GT. SYNAGOGUE, 110 Alifan Rd. Services will be conducted by guest cantor Rabbah Shira before Rabbah Shabbat, by Synagogue President Avraham Haimovitz, Shabbat 8:00, Mincha 5:30, Shabbat 8:00, 9:00 p.m. Hazzan: David Ullmann and the choir, conducted by Menashe Levran.

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ART GUIDE

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JERUSALEM

Museums and Exhibitions

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Museums

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Hazorea, Wilfrid Israel Museum, David Sharir: Prints and Tapestries. Lily Mirach-Koslovsky: Painting in Mixed Media (19.9-24.10). Hours: Sat. 10-12:30; 5-8:30. Weekdays 9-11:30.

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Paris Cinema - Correction

Times at the beginning of the listing in the Weekend Magazine refer to the Israel Premiere of She's Got a Hare. Le Bar is only showing on Friday at 2:30 p.m.

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Correction

to the ad on p. 3 of today's Magazine for The Complete Vanunu File. The file contains 70 pages, and costs NIS 40.

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SOCCER PREVIEW

Jerusalem and Tel Aviv Bloomfield showdown

Post Sports Staff
Betar Jerusalem, the 1986/87 National League and their predecessors Hapoel Tel Aviv drew their respective matches at Bloomfield Stadium last Saturday. But what a difference in the manner in which they did so.

Hapoel continued to be a sorry apology for the team that provided such entertaining football only a while ago and were more than fortunate to scrape a goalless draw against Shimon last Saturday, while Betar were involved in that six goal thriller with Maccabi Tel Aviv last weekend.

As both sides seek to record their first win of the season, Hapoel are determined to prove all the critics wrong and show that they are not as spent a force as their recent performances would suggest. Betar for their part, despite that impressive

game against Maccabi, will be keen to get back onto winning ways. In their clash in the central fixture on the National League at Bloomfield stadium tomorrow.

The statistics favour Hapoel. Of the 38 times in which these two clubs have met in the league, Hapoel have won 16 times to Betar's seven with 15 games being drawn. But since they met in their very first victory over the Tel Avivians in December 1976, the tide has turned very much in Hapoel's way.

Surprising front-runners Betar Tel Aviv should maintain their enterprising start to the season when they entertain Hapoel Hilon at the National Stadium in Ramat Gan, but the other team with full points from their two games, Maccabi Netanya could have their work cut out for them by youthful Hapoel Beersheba.

Weekend National League fixture list: Betar Tel Aviv v Hapoel Hilon at National Stadium, Ramat Gan 2:30; Mac TA v Hapoel Lod, Ramat Gan 4:30; Mac Netanya v Hapoel Beersheba, Netanya 3:30; Hap TA v Bet Elm, Bloomfield 3:30; Hap K. Sava v Shimon, K. Sava 3:30; Mac PT v Mac Haifa, Petah Tikva today 3:00; and Be'er Yehuda v Hapoel Tel Aviv, Winter Stadium today 3:00.

EUROPEAN SOCCER

Lonely Real beat Juventus

LONDON (AP) - A penalty and an own goal gave Real Madrid a potentially decisive 2-0 first leg lead over Italy's Napoli in the first leg of the European champions' cup on Wednesday night.

None of Real's vast army of fans were there to see it, however. Crowd trouble at last season's semifinal against Bayern Munich, forced UEFA, soccer's governing body in Europe to slap a two-match ban on Real's fans.

The result was that the match, that would have attracted a capacity 100,000 fans to see Argentina's Diego Maradona lead out Italian champions Napoli, was played behind closed doors.

While some 60 other matches were staged across Europe, with giants such as Bayern Munich, Ajax Amsterdam, Dynamo Kiev and Juventus all winning, the Real-Napoli match was the one worthy of a final.

Journalists and police were sprinkled around the vast Bernabeu stadium, venue for the 1982 world cup final. They saw Miguel "Michel" Gozalies fire Real ahead from the penalty spot in the 18th minute and Napoli's Fernando de Napoli deflect a shot into his own net 14 minutes from time.

While Real's fans sat at home watching the game on TV, supporters of Glasgow Rangers went to the club's stadium at Ibrox Park to watch their team on giant video screens play 2,000 miles away in Kiev. Dynamo Kiev edged the Scottish champions 1-0.

Thanks to a second half penalty by Alexei Milinkichenko.

The opening round of the competitions saw the end of a 25-game unbeaten streak won by UEFA cup holders IFK Gothenburg. The Swedes went down 1-2 to Brondby of Denmark. In the champions' cup, however, Austria's

Rapid Vienna, Neuchatel Xamax of Switzerland, West Germany's Bayern Munich and Steaua Bucharest of Romania all posted emphatic victories.

Rapid hammered Haveron Spartans of Malta 6-0, and Neuchatel whipped Kaunoy Lahel of Finland 5-0.

Bayern, last season's beaten finalists, overpowered CSKA Sofia of Bulgaria 4-0 while Steaua, best MTN Budapest by the same scoreline.

Another of the best performances of the opening round was posted 24 hours earlier by West German league leaders Werder Bremen, who came away from Mjolden of Norway with a 5-0 victory in the UEFA cup.

On Wednesday night, Italy's Juventus grabbed a 4-0 first leg advantage over Malta's Valletta to take back to Turin, Dynamo Moscow returned from Zurich with a 4-0 lead over Grasshoppers and Red Star Belgrade beat Bulgaria's Trakia Plovdiv 3-0.

Danish star Michael Laudrup scored twice for Juventus, unable to field his other foreign star, Weisberg fan Rasmussen through injury.

Other Welshmen, however, were pulling off a notable triumph over a team of Italians.

Merthyr Tydfil who play in the Southern League, two stages lower than the 91-team English Football League. And missing their veteran former England international, Bob Latchford, managed a 2-1 victory over Atalanta of Bergamo in the Cup-Winners-Cup.

It was not a good night for Ireland, however. Cup-Winners-Cup holders Ajax Amsterdam whipped Dundalk 4-0 at home, and the Irish league titans, Shamrock Rovers was upset 0-1 at home by Omonia of Nicosia in the Champions' cup.

Top individual scorers were Rapid Vienna's Yugoslav international Zoran Stojanovic, Neuchatel's Dutchman, Rene van der Gijp, and Moscow Dynamo's Alexander Borodyuk, who each bagged three goals.

BASEBALL

Gooden's sweet revenge

NEW YORK (AP) - Dwight Gooden still felt the effects of a head cold, only this time it didn't show.

Last Saturday, St. Louis tagged Gooden for six runs and five hits in two innings to send him to his earliest exit in 120 career starts.

Gooden responded with a three-hitter to beat Montreal 10-0 Wednesday night and keep the Mets 1.5 games behind first-place St. Louis in the National League East.

The Cardinals beat Pittsburgh 8-5. Len Dykstra hit a grand slam and Darryl Strawberry added a two-run homer to support Gooden.

Gooden, 14-6, struck out 11 and walked two as he pitched his sixth complete game, third shutout of the year and 16th of his career. It was the 35th time in his four-year career that Gooden has struck out 10 or more batters in a game.

"I'd have to say that was the best game of my career," Gooden said. "I had command of all my pitches, I had good velocity and I was hitting my spots."

Gooden improved his lifetime record at night to 53-11, compared to 19-14 during the day.

Elsewhere in the NL, San Francisco beat Houston 7-1, Philadelphia beat Chicago 8-5 and San Diego blanked Atlanta 3-0. Cincinnati and Los Angeles were not scheduled.

In the American League, the Toronto Blue Jays and Detroit Tigers are showing they have more in common than a share of first place in the American League East for four consecutive days.

Both teams, whose 88-57 records are the best in either league, put outstanding performances from their ace pitchers and their cleanup hitters Wednesday night.

Jack Morris pitched a three-hitter and Alan Trammell drove in two runs with his 26th homer and a double as the Tigers beat the Boston Red Sox 4-1.

Jimmy Key shut out the Baltimore Orioles on six hits for seven innings and George Bell knocked in two runs, giving him a major league-leading 124, as the Blue Jays blanked the Baltimore Orioles 7-0.

"I keep plugging along, and whatever happens," happens," said Trammell, whose 98 RBI from the No. 4 spot in the batting order is exceptional for a shortstop. "My success is somewhat of a surprise, I will admit it."

Morris, 18-8, didn't allow a hit for the first

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The bad old days of unchecked government spending have come to an end

THE July 1985 economic programme succeeded in bringing down inflation dramatically, from around 400 per cent per year to about 20 per cent. The initial success was achieved thanks to an unprecedented wage erosion and the freezing of the exchange rate. The government, the Histadrut and private employers agreed that an economic disaster would be unavoidable if no action were taken.

But inflation has stayed down not only because of the plan, but also thanks to a "silent revolution" which has considerably reduced the benefits from inflation to various groups and sectors in the economy. Exogenous factors, such as the slump in oil prices, the steep fall of the dollar and the drop in interest rates abroad, have also aided the economy.

For many years, the government had almost no control over the large amounts of money it injected into the economy. Some funds came from the budget. On this money, there was some degree of public control and parliamentary supervision.

But there were many other ways of getting money from the public coffers, some of which still exist. The Treasury often had trouble discovering who was getting what from

the government, and in what way. In many cases, while one government agency was trying to restrain spending, another was increasing it. Control over these funds never existed. Nobody — not even the Finance Ministry — had the faintest idea how all injections of money were damaging the economy.

To Aharon Fogel, the former head of the Treasury's Budget Department, there were various mechanisms of allocating public money. But there was no control over them, no connection between them and no supervision of them.

The government could pump money into the economy in the following ways: the Budget Department; the accountant-general through exchange rate insurance schemes and indexation insurance programmes; special rights to issue bonds in the stock exchange to certain groups; subsidized credits for domestic and export activities; exemption from liquidity margin requirements by the central bank; and tax exemptions.

Moreover, says Fogel, even the commercial banking system was an integral part of the mess. He says that they implemented an irresponsible credit policy, since they knew the government would always bail

The silent revolution

Shlomo Maoz and Avi Temkin

out the troubled firms and organizations.

When the government officially tried to cut down the spending and budgets of some groups, like municipal authorities, health funds, moshavim, kibbutzim and Beit She-mesh Engines, the banks lent them huge amounts of money, thus undermining government economic policy.

NOWADAYS, the main channel by which the government pumps money into the economy is through the budget, tax exemptions and the central bank. All the other sources have been blocked. In addition, all government loans have become linked

to the index, including mortgages. This not only imposes discipline and responsibility on various organizations, but also enables the Treasury to control outlay, and thereby to save much money.

The independence of some groups has been greatly restricted for the first time. They must now act within the framework of the state budget, and honour its limits.

The next stage in Treasury plans involves stating explicitly in the state budget how much tax exemptions are costing, so there can be a public debate on it. This would leave export subsidies as the only item free of tight control.

All the devious ways of getting



Aharon Fogel...credit policy was irresponsible. (Uzi Keren)

money out of the government created a strong vested interest in having and maintaining a high rate of inflation. Loans were given without linking repayment to the price index. Galloping inflation wiped out the original value of the principal.

At the peak of the inflationary period, the government paid exporters up to 40 per cent more than its official exchange rate for each dollar they brought in. At the same time, it was selling the same dollars at almost the official rate to Israelis travelling abroad and importing goods. Paradoxically, this encouraged imports of tax-free raw materials at the unreal official rate, damaging the balance of payments position and

boosting inflation. Fogel says this was like having a "sale" of imported goods in an economy with chronic balance of payments troubles.

The system also assured higher government payments to exporters, directly related to their production costs and the rate of inflation. The higher the costs and the rate of inflation, the higher the government subsidy.

Thus, the uncontrolled flow of funds and inflation were feeding on each other. By cutting the link between uncontrolled expenditure and the implicit benefits of inflation, the government has succeeded in ending the danger of an inflation rate which pushes itself to higher and higher levels.

Now, the government is dealing with "ordinary" inflation which is determined by its spending and deficit, as well as by monetary policies, on the domestic side, and by external factors.

Since inflation is running at 20 per cent a year, and the exchange rate is fixed, exporters' profits are being reduced. The government has two options — either increase the export incentives from its tight budget, or devalue the shekel. It cannot afford to allow firms to go under because of inadequate shekel revenue from their exports.

January's 10 per cent devaluation of the shekel has been eroded. Since then, the price index has increased by some 10 per cent. In January, the government prevented the devaluation from being translated into higher costs by reducing employers' payments to the National Insurance Institute and by delaying half of the payment of the Cost-of-Living allowance due to workers following the devaluation.

The government cannot repeat this exercise. There is no money in the budget, and the Histadrut would not agree again.

Thus, the logical outcome is a devaluation by January. But this time it will be more risky than the one carried out last January. This does not mean, however, that the devaluation will have immediate inflationary consequences, given the "silent revolution" detailed above.

But since the Bank of Israel wants to be on the safe side, it is already putting pressure on the government to eliminate some import restrictions. This would allow more goods to enter the country, thus dissipating potential inflationary pressure. The \$5 billion that the authorities will have after getting this year's \$1.2 billion in American aid will definitely help to pay for additional imports of durables.

YEHUDA DRORI is pleased as punch. The Treasury's commissioner for capital markets, savings and insurance, and hence the man in charge of overseeing the reform in the capital markets, told *The Jerusalem Post* in an interview this week that the reform programme, now well into its second year, is "working according to the book."

The truth is that senior Treasury officials have generally become enamoured with the textbooks recently, after their dramatic discovery that what the books say will actually work in the Israeli economy, as soon as the government stops interfering. But nowhere has this been so graphically proven as in the capital markets.

The premises behind the capital market reform, one of the pillars of current economic policy, are really very simple:

- If the government manages to balance its revenues and expenses, it won't have an enormous deficit.
- The smaller the deficit, the less the government has to borrow.
- The less it has to borrow, the more room there is in the markets for other borrowers, including firms and households.
- If there is less borrowing overall, the cost of money — i.e., the rate of interest — goes down. This benefits the government more than anyone else, because it is still the biggest single borrower, by far.

As is now common knowledge, the decline in inflation that the Economic Stabilization Plan of July 1985 ushered in helped boost the real value of government revenues far more than anyone had expected. The budget deficit narrowed sharply

Capital market/Pinhas Landau
So far so good

in 1985-86, while in 1986-87 there was a large operating surplus, as is the case again this year.

This surplus was more than wiped out by the need to meet interest payments and upcoming redemptions on government debt. But the generally favourable budget background has been, and continues to be, the essential precondition to capital market reform. The reform is synonymous with a withdrawal by the government from its domination over the markets, which reached its highest-ever level in the calendar year 1985.

Thus, the fact that the budget for the current year is based on the government only recycling 80 per cent of its maturing debt — NIS 7.6 billion out of NIS 9.4b. — is by itself remarkable evidence of the extent of the revolution that has occurred over the last two years.

The government's conversion to a reformist approach has had a further remarkable effect: It has made it the object of widespread praise. In the context of the capital market, the banks have been the most enthusiastic institutional supporters of the process. David Yehoshua, who is in charge of Israel Discount Bank's provident funds, gave an especially positive assessment:

"The reform is doing great work. We see the Bank of Israel and the

Treasury working together, and achieving results. The bond market is now dominated by the institutional investors, with the provident funds starting, at least at the moment. But the insurance companies and pension funds must also join if the process is to become firmly rooted."

THE MACRO-ECONOMIC background is clear to Yehoshua — low inflation and a balanced budget equals reform. Backsliding in either inflation or the budget will ruin the whole process, he is convinced, as well as sending the economy back into anarchy.

"If inflation is allowed to go back up instead of carrying on down, then I just surrender," he said, raising his arms above his head to make the point clear.

Back in the Treasury, Drori defined two aims for the reform process. One is to let non-government borrowers issue debt. This is happening on a growing scale, and since April of this year, the finance minister has waived his right to authorize every individual prospectus that is filed, both for share and bond issues, so that anyone who can get organized can raise capital.

The second aim is to reduce the cost of borrowing for everyone. For the government, cheaper borrowing means less pressure on the budget in subsequent years, while for firms it means that more investment projects can be financed, and investment in sensible things equals growth.

According to Drori, the reduced demand for borrowing has certainly had an impact on the price. Where the government had to offer investors an average yield of 6 per cent index-linked in 1986, this year it is raising funds at between 4.5 and 5 per cent. It has also succeeded in lengthening the average life span of its bonds from 7.5 years to 12 years.

To make these figures more concrete, it is worth noting that if this year's borrowing of NIS 7.6b. costs one per cent less, that represents NIS 76 million saved. Since the bonds run for 12 years, the built-in saving is NIS 76m. times 12 — i.e., NIS 912m. in today's money between now and 1999.

Unfortunately, however, the actual saving is smaller — about 60 per cent of the foregoing calculations. Where does the rest go? The answer is that it doesn't go anywhere. It is in that section of the capital market that the reform has not yet reached and so it doesn't exist in reality, only in potential.

THE CAPITAL market is made up of different areas — bank savings schemes, with a life span of two to eight years, advanced training schemes of three to six years, provident funds which can run from five to 15 years and even more, and life insurance and pension programmes that can span decades, even generations. In addition there are the share markets and the short-term money markets.

The process of creeping government domination of the markets brought all the sectors that raise medium and long-term funds under direct Treasury control. The reverse process of decontrol that is now under way means that instead of the banks, pension funds and so on simply taking in money and buying special government bonds with fixed rates of return, they will have to invest it themselves in a wider variety of instruments.

Index-linked savings schemes, which take the great bulk of bank

savings today, since the dollar-linked schemes are unpopular, now only have to invest 55 per cent of their inflow in tradable government bonds — no more special issues, another 10 per cent in non-government bonds, while the remaining 35 per cent is free for the banks to loan to whomever they like.

"Our long-term aim is to gradually move to 100 per cent freedom for savings scheme funds," said Drori. "However, in the short-term, the structure of the 1988 budget will determine the next move. Next year sees the main bank share redemption, as well as large-scale maturities of compulsory loans dating from the post-Yom Kippur War period."

THE BANKS, for their part, are only too pleased to be able to take their depositors' money and lend it on, index-linked and for several years, with a much better margin than the Treasury ever gave them. The explosion in consumer lending over the last year is evidence to the success of this trend, and the sooner Drori further reduces the government's take, the happier the banks will be. Savers are also benefiting through a generally higher yield level on offer since April, when the reform in savings schemes took off, than before. Saving rates themselves have picked up, probably in response to higher returns.

"The provident funds and advanced training schemes have been fully integrated into the reform programme," claimed Drori, while Yehoshua went even further, saying that, "the reform has been tailored to the needs of the provident funds."

This is undoubtedly true, but it sounds more dramatic than it is. What they are getting at is that for these institutional investors, and for bank-managed savings schemes, the Treasury has abolished the issue of special government bonds that are not traded in the market.

Instead, the fund managers have to bid for regular government bond issues, as and when these are made, along with any other interested parties. However, they have been amply compensated by the sharp reduction in the percentage of their assets that must be invested in government bonds of any sort.

The remainder may be invested in non-government bonds, in index-linked deposits for medium and long-term, and in shares or mutual funds. In practice, the funds are not yet interested in share investments.

Yehoshua, for instance, believes that the Tel Aviv market is still too narrow and volatile, and is doomed to remain so as long as index-linkage is a basic feature of the economy. However, if the reform process carries on, he accepts that there will be changes in this. For the meantime, the funds are dabbling with index-linked convertible bonds, as a relatively risk-free stepping stone to equity investments.

What matters most, to Yehoshua and to his customers, and their opposite numbers in other banks, is that the reform is not hurting yields — in fact, the opposite is happening. The ability to invest more funds in higher-yielding, non-government bonds and to make index-linked loans and deposits, all of which bring 7-8 per cent per annum, against 4-5 per cent on government bonds, feeds through to the bottom line — which each fund distributes among its members, after the manager takes his fee.

Discount's Yehoshua pointed out that provident funds are, first and foremost, solid institutions that do not need to chase very high yields to succeed, only to give their members respectable returns. Despite the prophecies by some diehard opponents that reform would kill off the provident funds, they are in fact thriving on it.

Sorry, out of order

David Horovitz, in London, on privatizing British Telecom

AT HOLBORN Underground station last Friday afternoon, a long queue of people stood checking watches and impatiently tapping feet, waiting to use the one public telephone in service out of a bank of four. At Waterloo, one of London's main railway terminals, the situation was just as bad, with only a couple of dozen or so phones in use.

These "out of order" telephones had not been vandalized. Their coinboxes simply had not been emptied, and they could accept no more money.

The deterioration of the pay-phone service is just one of a whole host of criticisms to have been levelled at the newly-privatized British Telecom (BT) in the past few months. It has gained a reputation as "Britain's worst public service," and has been accused in the press of overcharging customers by millions of pounds because of faulty metering and equipment.

At last week's annual shareholders' meeting, BT chairman Sir George Jefferson announced his resignation, admitting that BT had provided "an unsatisfactory level of service in the first half of 1987."

A BT man for over seven years, Jefferson was liked and respected, but clearly it was felt that someone had to shoulder the blame for a crisis that has left question-marks over the future of the Conservative government's entire privatization programme.

THE MOST immediate concern for ministers administering the privatization schedule is that investors will henceforth be rather more reluctant to invest money in the multi-billion-pound share issues.

A further BT privatization, in which the government hopes to raise £8b. from the sale of its remaining 49

per cent share in BT, is now under something of a cloud. Although BT profits have been consistently impressive, and although a low share pricing would ensure plenty of buyers looking for a quick profit, it is more doubtful whether sufficient investors will be willing to hold onto BT shares in the long term.

The allegations of overcharging, in particular, have played right into the hands of BT's only legalized competitor, Mercury, which has already signed up 1,000 big-business customers, with rates up to 15 per cent cheaper than BT's more modern equipment, and a far more detailed billing service.

Whitehall officials have let it be known that, if BT does not markedly improve its services in the coming months, the government will allow more competitors to bid for a slice of the British telecommunications cake.

THE CRISIS at BT, however, extends rather further than the telecommunications field. It throws into question the whole issue of privatization, and of what becomes of public services after they are sold off.

While BT is generally accepted as the worst casualty of privatization, British Gas is not far behind, with bugs in its computerized system leading to consumers being mistakenly cut off for non-payment of bills, and increasing complaints that engineers are no longer as quick to fix leaks as they used to be.

The Thatcher administration

launched the sell-off programme with the promise that the removal of state control would "improve the efficiency of businesses that are crucial to our overall economic performance."

So far, this has manifestly proved to be rather less than the truth.

With the £7.5b. sell-off of British Petroleum due next month, and the privatization of the £37b. state electricity system set for late next year, the government will be pressing its already-privatized industries to improve their services and their public image.

Unfortunately, BT appears to have blundered badly, at least as far as its public image is concerned, in swiftly appointing Jefferson's deputy, Ian Vallance as his successor. The rapid appointment of an insider does suggest a complacency at BT and a confirmation of the old regime. As *The Times* put it in an article last Friday, "an outsider could have come in untainted by past criticisms and have started afresh."

Whatever the public image, Vallance will clearly have his work cut out improving the service. It has been reported this week that BT overcharged the Bank of England by £250,000 last April. And a series of breakdowns at major exchanges left hundreds of businesses and institutions in Western Europe — including Scotland Yard and the Conservative Party Central Office — without telephones for part of last Friday morning.

And harking back to those unusable phones at Holborn and Waterloo, Mr. Vallance should be told that they're not the ones needing attention. According to a report prepared by BT's watchdog, OfTel, one in four public phone boxes throughout the United Kingdom is out of order.

Israel takes a first step

Pinhas Landau

ISRAEL HAS lagged far behind most other countries in selling state-owned assets. But things are finally beginning to move.

Two months ago, Finance Minister Moshe Nisim named the American investment banking firm, First Boston Corporation, as advisers to the government on its projected privatization programme. The giant Wall Street brokerage, Shearson Lehman, a part of the American Express group, will assist in the bringing of state-owned firms to market.

First Boston executives left Israel last week after a series of preparatory meetings with Treasury officials and the companies on

the list of targets to be sold off. In mid-October the company intends opening up a permanent office here for the staffers who will be coming and going in the course of the multi-year programme.

Both First Boston and Shearson, as well as the British firm of NM Rothschild, which was also on Nisim's short-list, recommended in their suggested programmes that the government start the privatization drive with

Benk, the telecommunications monopoly. This has been the standard tactic around the world, from Italy to the Philippines, and is now a main feature in every privatization textbook.

Whether the criticism that has emerged in Britain towards British Telecom, especially the need for competition rather than privately-owned monopoly power, will be heeded in Israel remains to be seen. If we are late at the game, we might at least learn from the mistakes of others.

The Economic pages are edited by Shlomo Maoz.

STAR-GAZING

(Continued from page 9)

militant pronouncements from the podium.

In short, the convention is the most convenient arena for Sharon's brand of magic. Between sessions, Mrs. Lily Sharon and her aides, a brave warrior from a family of an already legendary soldier. Bibi has also "made it", and spectacularly, in that most alien of elements, from Herut's point of view: the diplomatic world and the U.S. media.

Assuming Shamir runs for another term as Herut leader — a possibility that now seems more than likely — he will have a formidable task, navigating the party through the next few years to accept the younger leadership. He will have to promote and advance the young princes and development town leaders while at the same time keeping the ever-prehensile Levy and Sharon from protesting with disruptive and potentially destructive force.

Shamir has yet to show resolution in such political engineering, despite his professed admiration for the youngsters. Herut's strongest point and Labour's weakest — its young guard. But unlike Menachem Begin, who refrained from actively lobbying for his young disciples, Shamir does not shy away from backroom deals and manipulations.

But the special appeal of a Katsav-Meridor-Netanyahu leadership trio lies in its internal balance. Crudely put, Meridor could supply the brains, Netanyahu the panache, and Katsav the unifying and confidence-giving seal of a popular and proven politician.

Netanyahu has finally decided not to seek the post of Jewish Agency chairman and will return to Israel in

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Succot, 2nd Day, for Tourists, Friday	9.10.87	Lunch
Shmini Atzeret and Simhat Tora eve	14.10.87	Dinner
Shmini Atzeret and Simhat Tora, Thur.	15.10.87	Lunch
Simhat Tora eve, for Tourists, Thur.	15.10.87	Dinner
Simhat Tora, for Tourists, Friday	16.10.87	Lunch

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Raymond J. Ross

THE SCOTSMAN
Thursday, August 27, 1987

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So that others may live

THEY were cut down in their prime, and there is no solace except in the knowledge that it is their kind of bravery which allows northern Israel such freedom from terrorist incursions as it enjoys today.

Three members of a small and inexperienced Givati force out on a terrorist-search mission, ambushed in the Mt. Hermon area Tuesday night by a Syrian-sponsored Lebanese terrorist gang apparently on their way into Galilee: Ronen Weissman, the company commander, who was the first to be hit, Alexander Singer, the platoon commander, who was killed trying to aid Weissman, and Private Oren Kamil, who was felled attempting to pull the two officers to safety.

Badly outmaneuvered and drawing withering enemy fire, their surviving comrades-in-arms went on fighting for several hours, led by a 19-year-old radio operator and later aided by helicopters and their crews that established contact with headquarters - until the attackers were beaten back and one of them was taken prisoner.

The bloody incident is liable to raise the question again whether it is not time for the IDF to reconsider its tradition of putting officers out front, at the head of their units. Reconsidered it may well be, but there is little chance of that tradition being overturned. If the IDF, including its professional core, remains the nation-in-arms it has always been, as was freshly proven on the slopes of Mt. Hermon this week, that is very much due to the fact that its leaders lead rather than prod the men, as is customary in so many foreign armies.

Another question likely to crop up again concerns the sufficiency of regular Israeli patrols confined most of the time to the security zone, and abetted only by the none-too-effective South Lebanon Army and occasional Air Force raids on terrorist targets, in assuring the peace of the north. And the advisability of Israel maintaining a regular military presence in southern Lebanon, even after the formal withdrawal, when that very presence helps this country's worst enemies across the northern border rally popular support for "resistance to the occupier."

The answer is that the current policy, while not necessarily ideal, is probably the lesser of readily conceivable evils.

Whether or not a deal could at one time be struck with Amal which would have placed control of the south, and the peace of Galilee, safely in the hands of the mainstream Shi'ite organization, that time is past. Amal heads may be quite happy to see the IDF clobber the PLO and the fundamentalist Hizbullah, and right in southern Lebanon, but they will not undertake to restrain their followers from attacking the IDF, if only on occasion, for being right there.

A numerically larger and geographically more extensive Israeli presence, however, would make the army's task that much more difficult. So long as the threat from the north does not turn far uglier than it is, it will fall to the brave young draftees and regulars of the IDF to bodily fend for their country up there.

SYRIAN PROXIES

(Continued from page one)

Egyptian had been trained and sent on the mission by Gen. Ghazi Kana'an, head of Syrian Intelligence in Lebanon. Kana'an is also closely linked to the Syrian hierarchy, through family ties with Syrian president Hafez Assad.

Similarly, another pro-Syrian group, the Lebanese National Resistance Front, had claimed responsibility for Tuesday night's battle near Shaba, in the northern part of the security zone.

Olmert noted that the LNRF was an umbrella organization for a number of groups, including the Syrian Social Nationalist Party, the Ba'th Party and the Lebanese Communist Party, and was directly accountable to Syria.

Syria has never repudiated its enmity for Israel, but for the time being has no wish to become involved in a head-on clash.

The "politics of proxies" was a tried and trusted formula which had enabled the Syrians to substantiate their claim to be leading the fight against Israel, without becoming directly involved, Olmert asserted.

He maintained that Tuesday night's clash did not indicate any change of tactics on Syria's part. It was in keeping with its publicly stated position regarding Israel, and merely constituted a continuation of the policy of using others to do the dirty work.

The rapprochement with the U.S. was another factor which may have prompted the Syrians to unleash their Lebanese proxies against Israel, said Olmert.

The attempted reconciliation would not be viewed favorably by some Arab countries and Palestinians, despite Syria's attempts to make it appear that the Americans had made the initial approach.

Syria therefore felt it had to be seen to be taking action against Israel.

By using proxies, Syria could achieve this end, while officially disclaiming any involvement with a Lebanese-based organization.

Olmert maintained that Tuesday night's action was unlikely to affect Syrian-Arab relations - despite the fact that the terrorists had intended to infiltrate Israel and carry out atrocities against innocent civilians.

"The Americans are anxious to explore the extent of Assad's flexibility. In that case, the rapprochement will probably continue, provided the situation in Lebanon does not deteriorate, vis-à-vis the kidnapping of foreigners, and there are no further international terrorist incidents for which Syria can be held responsible," he said.

"Similarly, there will be no pressure on the Americans to withdraw, unless the Israeli government makes an issue of these recent terrorist incidents."

POSTSCRIPTS

P.S. CHINA'S state-run media have urged the "liberation" of officials from attending endless meetings, and told the grim story of one enterprise forced to send representatives to 30 meetings in 10 days.

"Some people become addicted to meetings as others become addicted to smoking. If you don't allow them to hold a meeting, their entire body feels uncomfortable," the *People's Daily* said in a front-page article.

urging no more unnecessary meetings.

The newspaper noted that Fujian province in south China decided not to hold any meetings from July to September, a key time for economic development that requires officials to attend to practical work.

The *People's Daily* labelled the flood of meetings a manifestation of bureaucracy, which is expected to be a main target of reformers at an important Communist Party congress in October.

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PLO barrier to peace

Yosef Ben-Aharon

I RECENTLY received a message from the PLO. The envelope, sent from Tunis and addressed to the Prime Minister's Office, contained a six-page stencilled document in Arabic giving the PLO's reasoned position on the question of the international conference. I was not the only one to receive this paper. The PLO also took the trouble to send it, as well as similar publications, to numerous Knesset members.

There is no point in repeating everything written in the document. It is sufficient to quote from the summary recounting the well-known positions of the PLO: "...our faith has not been undermined and it focuses on the policy of armed struggle..." We repeat the statement of the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser: "What was taken by force will only be recovered by force..." "We continue to adhere to our basic principles to constitute a democratic state in Palestine, a state tied to the Arab nation from the point of view of history, and to the (Middle East) area from the physical point of view..."

The PLO further drew my attention, by means of their document, to the resolutions of the 18th Assembly of the Palestinian National Council (PNC). I again perused these resolutions taken, just a few months ago, at the assembly of terrorist organizations which many people in Israel and even in the United States had expected to issue a message of peace.

These resolutions pledge support for "the continuation of the struggle in all its forms: the armed one, the popular one and the diplomatic one..." "The continued rejection of (UN) Resolution 242..." "adherence to the resolutions of the various Arab summit meetings relating to the Palestinian problem, and in particular the Rabat resolutions of 1974. The viewing of the 1982 PZ summit plan (approved by the special summit meeting in Casablanca in 1985) as the basis of the Arab steps on the international plane..." "adherence to the constant national rights: Right of return (within the 1948 borders), the right of self-determination and the right to set up an independent state on the sacred Palestinian soil..." and so on.

When I compare the message I received (as did many politicians in Israel, whom, I hope, read it) with the message Charlie Biton claims to have received (but denied by the PLO), I begin to understand what the PLO intended when it said the diplomatic struggle will continue.

The PLO is currently conducting a battle to win over the hearts of Israel's citizens, who are by nature peace-loving. In this struggle, as in its "armed struggle" - or rather, murderous terror - the PLO does not bicker over the means. Lies, misrepresentation and psychological warfare - the everlasting weapons of the propagandist - serve the PLO in this battle, aiming to undermine Israel's unity and to prejudice the position of Israel in the international arena.

THE RESOLUTIONS of PLO assemblies tend to refer repeatedly to previous important resolutions, among them the resolutions of 1974. In that year, at the 12th Assembly of the PNC, a bitter struggle ensued between those who favoured the adoption of the liquidation of Israel by stages and those who claimed "it is necessary to stick to the liberation of Palestine as a whole by way of the armed struggle."

Arafat put his full weight behind the "strategy of stages" and the diplomatic struggle alongside that of terror. His approach was adopted even though it caused a rift between the various factions of the organization. Thus, in the course of years, a kind of division of labour was arranged between those who devoted themselves solely to terror and those who acted in the international arena as well.

The latter, with Arafat at their head, aim to project an image of a PLO government in incubation, capable of acting in the international arena and representing a body with legitimate claims. And so, in various international sectors, the PLO/Arafat faction has been accorded the status of "moderates" or is designated as the "central stream" among the terrorist organizations, while the other factions are defined as the "rejectionist front."

However, whoever bothers to study the facts as they really are, will

READERS' LETTERS

ESSENTIAL WISDOM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, - Jacob Neuser ("The haredim want to make us all into Amish") is fantasizing if he thinks science, democracy, politics and economics hold the key to the 21st century. Despite these advances, there is a large amount of alienation and discontent in society marked by crime, unemployment, drug addiction and family breakdown. Television reveals an attraction to and fascination with violence and sadism, with the TV and movie profit lobby waxing unrestrained.

To label the haredim antiquated shows bias. Old values are relevant even in the sphere of science. The ancient laws of hygiene (washing, immersions, sexual responsibility) and sabbatical rest (stress relief, soil erosion, pollution) are extremely important. The social structures of involving all people in society through the challenges of good deeds, keeping laws, prayer, learn-

ing and communal worship provide for all from the modest to the highly skilled.

The haredim remind us of these ideals and whilst I would turn my back on the excesses, I would not turn my back on the essential wisdom.

DAVID RODENBERGSTEIN
Caulfield, Australia.

ENTERTAINMENT SECTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, - I very much like your separate section on entertainment in your weekly magazine. It gives the reader a first check on what is going on in the fields of entertainment, TV and radio.

H.A. DOBRINER
Kfar Hanassi.

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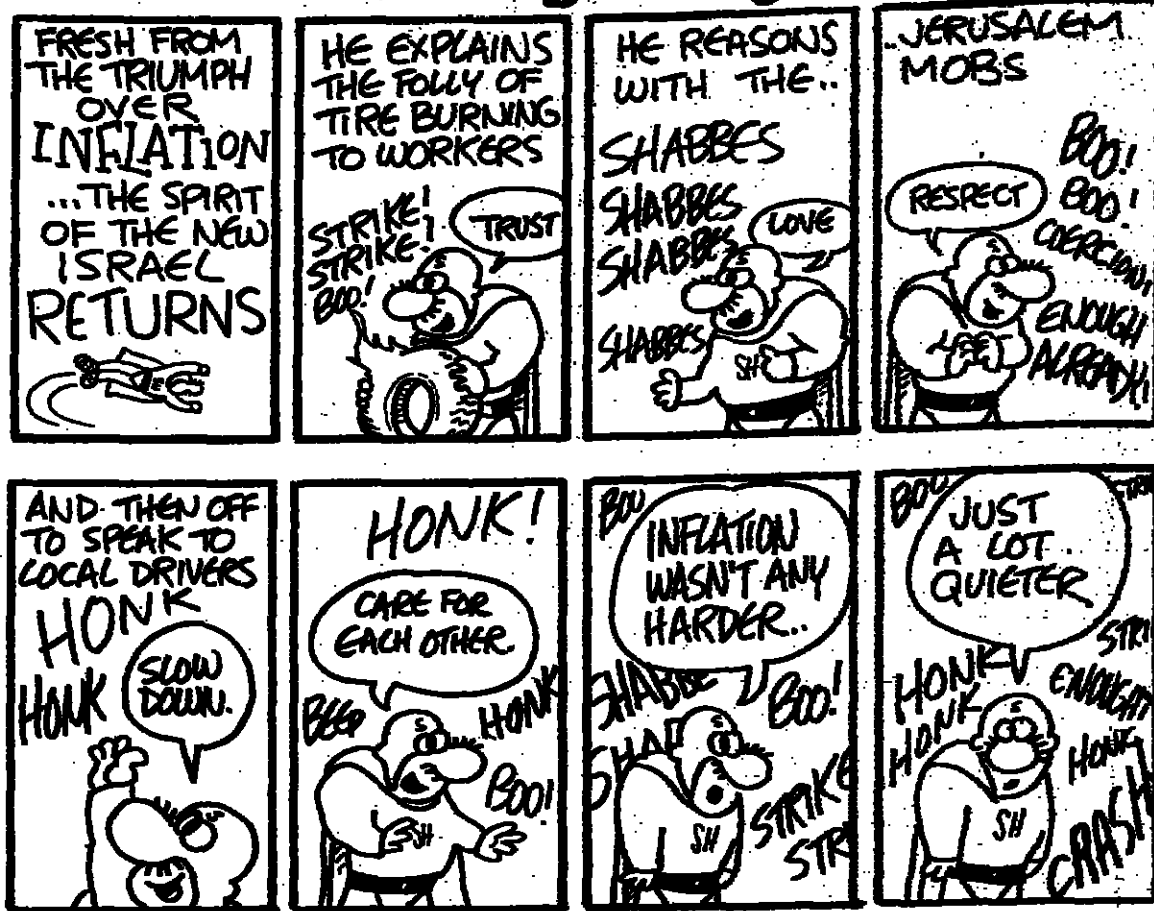
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The Friday Dry Bones



soon come to realize that this distinction is totally divorced from reality. The real and only difference between the various factions belonging to the PLO is in their ties to the several Arab states and the support they receive from those states. One of the more blatant proofs of this fact - and all of us are familiar with it - is the Palestinian consensus as to the armed struggle, i.e. terror - a consensus encompassing all PLO factions throughout the years.

The "strategy of stages" for the liquidation of Israel adopted by the 12th Assembly of the PNC reveals the real intentions of the "moderates" in this organization. According to this doctrine, the PLO must act in two ways - the military (terrorist) one and the diplomatic one - in order to "liberate" any area from which Israel can be made to withdraw.

Over this area, a "Militant National Authority" will be constituted to continue the military and diplomatic struggle until the liberation of "Palestine" in its entirety. In the course of time, this "Militant National Authority" was replaced by the aspiration to set up a state in part of "Palestine" as a step towards constituting that "democratic secular state" whose nationality would be exclusively Arabic and whose Jewish inhabitants would be accorded religious rights only.

It could perhaps be claimed that the PLO could nevertheless change, for haven't we reached a peace agreement with Egypt, a country which once was an enemy far stronger than the PLO?

THE ANSWER is that there is a substantial difference between conducting negotiations with a state which regards its conflict with us, in the main, as a conflict over boundaries and between negotiating with a terrorist organization which regards its conflict with us as an existential conflict.

The PLO claims exclusive rights over the entire Eretz Yisrael and in its National Covenant (Article 20) denies any relationship or historical or spiritual ties between Jews and Eretz Yisrael. Any legitimacy granted to the PLO by the state of Israel will be construed, even in the

Arab world, as testimony to the fact that our faith in Zionism and our right to Eretz Yisrael has been totally undermined. Our enemies will believe they have succeeded in inflicting a wound to the very roots of Zionism - the progenitor of the state of Israel - and anyone hoping that Israel is merely a passing phenomenon in the Middle East will be greatly encouraged.

An attempt to influence a faction resembling the PLO has been tried in the past and the price was paid, in blood, for its failure was high. I refer to the attempt to moderate a relative of Arafat - Haj Amin el-Husseini. The British Jewish High Commissioner, Herbert Samuel, appointed him to be mufti of Jerusalem, despite his known extremism; out of a hope that such an appointment would act as a moderating influence on him and the circle of his violent supporters. History has shown us that this was a tragic mistake. Had the Nazis succeeded in their military campaign in the Middle East, Hussein - the devoted ally of the Nazis - would have brought the "final solution" to the nascent Jewish community in Eretz Yisrael as well.

WE MUST understand that taking diplomatic steps towards the PLO would only weaken the real moderate Arabs, or those capable of becoming moderate - the hundreds of thousands of Arabs in Judea and Samaria - and Jordan, the most important of the moderate factors in the area. The chorus of PLO support often heard among the inhabitants of the administered areas should not fool us. If they begin to realize that there is no prospect of the PLO being given a foothold in Eretz Yisrael but, on the other hand, that there is a serious Israeli plan for a viable settlement, they will not choose

"national suicide" for the sake of the PLO. The majority of them will wish to see whether our proposals could satisfy their national aspirations to a reasonable extent.

The readiness of Israel to conduct negotiations with the PLO will immediately be construed by the entire world as a recognition on our part of the principle of a Palestinian state to the west of the Jordan river. No other interpretation can be given to such a step. A state does not conduct negotiations with an organization such as the PLO, unless it is willing to accord it recognition as a nascent national entity.

Such an entity, in any area whatsoever in Eretz Yisrael, will constitute a grave existential danger to the state of Israel. All the guarantees in the world, and all means of demilitarization and written promises will not prevent that entity (or state) from turning into a terror base and a threat to Israel, many more times greater than that which existed in South Lebanon.

The conclusion of all this is clear: the option of negotiations with the PLO does not exist in any real sense. The requirement that the PLO accept Resolution 242 and recognize Israel as an American prerequisite for negotiations with the PLO and not an Israeli one. Our concern with the PLO is merely to prevent its capacity to harm both our citizens as well as the really moderate Arabs who are prepared to represent the Palestinians in negotiations for peace. Our challenge is to attempt to produce conditions which will encourage such Arab representatives to shake off the hold of the PLO and to meet with us for the purpose of achieving peace and co-existence.

The writer is director-general of the Prime Minister's Office.

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